

¶ A Chronicle, conteyning  
the liues of tenne Emperours  
of Rome.

Wherin are discouered, their beginnings,  
proceedings, and endings, worthie to be  
read, marked, and remembred.

Wherein are also conteyned Lawes of  
speciall profite and policie.

Sentences of singular shorthenesse  
and swetenesse.

Orations of great grauitie and  
Wisedome.

Letters of rare learning and  
eloquence.

Examples of vices carefullly to be auoy-  
ded, and notable paternes of vertue  
fruitfull to be followed.

Compiled by the most famous Syr Antho-  
nie of Gueuara, Bishop of Mondonnedo,  
Preacher, Chronicler, and counsellour to the  
Emperour Charles the fift: and translated  
out of Spanish into English, by Ed-  
ward Hellowes, Groome of her  
Maiesties Leashe.

¶ Hereunto is also annexed a table, recapitulating such  
particularities, as are in this booke mentioned.

Imprinted at London for Ralphe New-  
berrie dwelling in Fleetestrete.

Anno Gratiae 1577.

INCHES

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TO THE MOST EX-  
cellent and vertuous Princesse, and  
our gratiouſ ſouereigne Ladie Eliza-

beth, by the grace of GOD, of Englaudc,  
Fraunce, and Ireland, Queene: defen-  
der of the Christian Faith. &c.

Long life, with accomplish-  
ment of all Godly  
desires.



IGHT noble &  
most gratiouſ ſoue-  
reigne: if I ſhould  
write or dedicate a-  
ny thinge, as of my  
ſelfe, vnto your ex-  
cellencie, with any ſpark of presumption  
or ſingularitie, as a matter meete for the  
viewe of the maiestie of your ſacred per-  
ſon, or ſufficient ſatisfaction vnto the  
depth of your diuine iudgment: not only  
mine owne weakeſes would bewray me,

¶.ij. and

## The Epistle

and iustly yeald a cruell scourge of my  
discredite, but also procure my worthie  
reprehension, and no lesse deserued cha-  
sticemēt. But simply presuming of your  
maiesties milde & accustomed fauour,  
prouoked by the eloquence of the Au-  
thor, encouraged by the profite & plea-  
sure of the matter, imboldened because  
this historie hath beene dedicated by  
Syr Antonie of Gueuara, & accep-  
ted of Charles the fifth, an Emperour  
of no common renowne, and no lesse per-  
suaded by the humblenes of a duetifull  
minde, as one vowed by othe and alege-  
ance to execute my vtter seruice in eue-  
ry exployt to your Maiestie: the regard  
whereof not leadeth but constraineth (al-  
though with blushing & bashfull face)  
to present unto your magnificeēe this my  
simple trauell, translated out of Spa-  
nish into the Englishe tongue, contey-

ning

## Dedicatore.

ning the liues of tenne Emperours of  
Rome, namely, Traiane Coceius, A-  
drian, Antoninus Pius, Cōmodus,  
Pertinax, Julianus, Seuerus, Bassia-  
nus, Heliogabalus, & Alexander Se-  
uerus: whose liues, gouernements, ends  
and conclusions, giue foorth matter so  
meete for the spectacle of princes, as wel  
the vertuous of the one part to take sure  
direction, & good counsell to their great  
comfort, thereby as a sounding lead, to  
obteine knowledge both of the depth &  
coast, to lead theselues into all safetie of  
bodie and minde: as also the licentious,  
on the other part, to moderate and staye  
their rash attemptes, as a sheat anchor  
in all furious stormes of perplexities, to  
saue from shipwracke both life and ho-  
nour. All which being considered, in  
respect that the matter therin cōteyned,  
treateth of Kings and Emperours, and

¶. iii.

bath

## The Epistle

bath beene dedicated vnto an Emperour: the worke of it selfe craueth your milde acceptation, as onely due vnto the souereigntie of your Maiesties estate, to escape the infainie of abasement. I your Maiesties most humble and loyall seruaunt, in most humble wise beseeching, that of your great mildnes and clemencie, it may like your highnesse to accept this my simple present, full fraught, not of skill, but of loyaltie: wherein, for as much as the Authour in the front hereof, hath fixed so worthy a prologue, that there seemeth nothing to be omitted, or that any thing might be added: yeldeth just cause to cease further to vrge your patience with tediousnes: most humbly beseeching your Maiestie, that it maye please the same of your great bountie to pardon all my defectes that herein maye appeare: and I your Maiesties most hūble

## Dedicatore.

ble and obedient seruaunt, shall ueuer cease to pray, that the blessing of the liuing GOD, may alwayes conduct & follow your Maiestie, with all perfect felicitie, both of bodie and soule, as may yeeld your Maiestie immortal fame before God and man.

Your Maiesties most  
humble and obedi-  
ent seruaunt.

Edward Hellowes.

The prologue of the famous Syr  
Anthonie of Gueuara, Byshoppe of

Mondonnedo, preacher, chthonicler, &  
counsellour to the Emperour Charles  
the fifth, vpon the life of tenne  
Emperours of Rome.  
(. .)

The Author proponeth.

 ARIVS GEMINVS, a man  
verie glorious, and Consul among  
the Romans, saide vnto Iulius Ca-  
esar: O Caesar and great Augustus,  
such as dare presume to speake be-  
fore thee, knowe not thy greatnesse:  
and those that are abashed to appeare in thy presence,  
comprehend not thy noblenesse: wordes in deede right  
worthie of such a person. Conformable to that which  
Varius Geminus saide, wee do saye: *It appertaineth to the  
greatnesse of Princes, that their persons be much authorised, and on  
the other parte, that they endeour to communicate with their  
common wealthes, for that with their mightinesse they may give  
terroure, and with their plaine mildnesse remoue all feare.* Suetonius saith of Octauius the emperour, that euer any am-  
bassadours came in his presence, which at the first sight  
were not touched with feare: and after in communica-  
ting did not adore him: because great was the maistic  
wherewith he did receiue them, and after, verie sweete  
were the woordes wherewith he did dispatch them.  
Of the great Cato Censorine, Plutarchie saith: that be-  
ing the man of moste honestie, and greatest grauitie  
that liued athongest the Romaines: he did neuer shewe  
to any man, a sadde, but cheerefull countenance, or giue

A.i. cuill

## The Prologue.

euill aunswere, nor shut the doore against any person, either denyed any thing that was iust, neither shamed or disgraced any man. *Not only happy, but also most happy is the Prince, that for rectitude of iustice is feared, and for his good condition beloneth.* Much weakenesse of Princes, and great Lordes is couered, and vices dissimuled, when with their owne they be of good condition, and with straungers of gratefull conuersation. Of the famous tyrant Dionysius the Sirachian, Plutarche saith: that the immortal hatred which the Sicylians did beare him, was not so much for the tyrannies that he did execute, as for the incomporable condition which he vised: for that verie seldome he did permitt him selfe to be scene: and verie oft was heard laughing. The contrarie wherof is read of king Antigonus, the father of the greate Demetrius: whoe was proude, covetous, ambitious, cruell, and effeminate: and with all these conditions the people of his kingdomes did both suffer and serue him: onely for that they founde the dores of his house alwayes open, and in his mouth an amorous aunswhere. The ende of all this which we haue saide is, humblie to praye all princes, and giue warning vnto all such as be about them, alwayes to persuade and counsell them to be so humaine, that all may endure their conuersation; and yet so graue, that none presume to make small ac-  
compt of them: for that it maketh much to the matter of good gouernement, to be indued with good nature and disposition. No lesse inconuenience doth followe the common wealth, for the Prince to be holden in small estimation, then to be vntractable, ouer haughtie, or straunge: for, if he be inconuersible, they abhorre him: and if not esteemed, they disobey him.

Sardanapalus, the last King of the Assyrians, was with all men so humaine, that women made him spinne: and of Phalaris the tyrant, it is read, that he was so inconuersible, that his owne daughters durst not speake vnto him. *To the ende that Princes be not abhorred in their common wealthes, they haue to consider, and also beware to be noted of extremities: which is to witt, in vsing too great familiaritie with some, and no lesse straungenesse with others: because muche straungenesse engendreth hatred: and too muche familiaritie leadeth to contempt.* The rule that in this case wee dare giue vnto Princes, mightie and noble men, is: that they be neither so affable with their priuate and fauoured seruants, whereby to giue them hardinesse to craue any thing vniust: either so straunge with them that be not priuate, as to giue them feare to demaund iustice. It is not remoued from Princes, to giue their kingdomes vnto their children, to committ their secrete vnto such as be seruiceable, to vse their liberalitie with their priuate and fauoured seruautes, to take their pastimes with their friendes, vpon such condition, that their conuersation be somewhat generall: for asmuche as the liberalitie of Princes extendeth not to satisfie euery suite: they supply much more with their amorous aunswers that they giue, then with the rewardes which they bestowe. Not ynworthily was it ordeined of the moste auncient Greekes, that the vse of Princes shoulde not be to pronounce in their letters patents, and commaundementes: *I commaund this, I will this, I forbiddeth this:* but that they should saye: *We commaund this, We will this, and ordeine this:* for their better remembrance, that by speaking in the name of all, they should in time be conuerstant with all, be familiar with all, and diuide rewardes amongst all, and that they are of all, and not of them selues.

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## The Prologue.

He that hath to holde the least parte of the prince, ought to be the prince him selfe: for that, great regarde is to be had of all men, as concerning the seruice of his person: and he ought to be vigilant in all things that are profitable to the common wealth. *Howe much the more the Prince regardeth him selfe: so muche the more he neglegeth him selfe.* And howe muche the leſſe he careth for him selfe: so muche the more shall he attaine to him selfe: for that the harmonie of the common wealth consisteth in nothing more, then all men to loue of the liberalitie and bountie of the prince: and that the Prince loue in the loue of all men.

¶ The Authour prosecuteth his intent.

It is also necessarie counsell vnto the prince, that he haue a sounde minde and disposition, and his intents verie well aduertised: for that if in his affaires he make no accompt to be certeine, he shall hardly cease to erre: and if he be not attentiu to the affaires of the common wealth, he shall neuer vnderstand them.

The prince ought grauely to regarde the thing he doth, before it be done: for the errore of any other whatsoeuer, the offence is onely felt in his own house: but the errore of the prince, redoundeth to the whole common wealth. The princes that be wilfull in the things which they will: and headstrong wherein they commaund: besides that they go laden with thoughts, holding their persons in perill, escandalize their common wealth, accused to be ouer amarous of their owne proper iudgement, and moſte great enimies of others counſell. The prince also ought very particularly vnderſtand the things of the common wealth, if he wil vſe good gouernement thereof. And this he hath to be aduertised, not of ſuſe as goe to murmur, but of ſuſe as make iuſt report, and also giue counſel therin: for that  
betwixt

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*twixt the Prince and the common wealth, there ſhall neuer be peace, if to liars and murmurers be giue audience.* Euen as Princes deſire not in their ſubiectes, but to be ſerued: euen ſo their ſubiects deſire not of their princes, but to be beloved, & moſt truely, the one is annexed vnto the other, and dependeth each of other: for if in the Prince there be no loue, there is noſe that wil ſerue him with affection. Princes and great lordes, ought to holde in great estimation, that their ſubiectes do obey them: but much more haue the ſubiectes to make accompt, when their lordes do loue them: because, without comparison, his bountie is much greater that bindeth vs to loue, then the trauaile of him that offereth to ſerue. As loue is not repayed but with loue, ſo Princes are not to be ſatified with only giuing ſuch as do ſerue and followe them, offices, caſtels, customes, houses and money: but alſo they ought to ſhewe them loue in their palaces, and fauour in their aſſafaires: because, with their liberalitie, they recompenſe their ſeruice past: but with their loue they bind them to ſerue in time to come.

Princes and men of power, ought in their countenance to be amorous, in their ſpeach milde, in their behauiuour ſuſtained: for that generous hartes, and bluſhing and shamefaſt faces, that followe courtes, and go in Princes houses, do muſte more ſeele the diſfauour whiche they ſhewe them, then the rewardes that they denye them. *To the ende that Princes be deliuered of diſpleaſures: and their kingdomes better gouerned: it ſhalbe moſte ſound counſell for them to be affable with all, to giue vnto all, to deale for all, & to loue all: but if they determine to holde ſome more priuate, they ought much to conſider whome they admitt to their ſpeciall fauour: because for one to be priuate in Court, it is not ſufficient that the king doe chooſe him: but that alſo he be of merite and deſeruing.*

In giuing rewardes, princes may not alwayes escape errour, but in commending their heartes, they ought to be most certainte: for that, *In this whole world there is not the like torment, as a man to haue his loue euill employed.* If Princes and great Lordes will particularly take into their shaudur any of their seruaunts, they ought to be of particular deserving: bycause, loue shall never be fixed: when in him that is loued, there wanteth merite. Not without cause we sayde, that it were necessarie in a Prince to be indued with a good mynd and disposition, and with solind meanning and intention: because if the Prince be taken with imperfect and vnlawfull affection, Alas of him, and also of his kingdome, that by him is gouerned, It is euill that the Prince haue no rule in feeding, in play, in drinking, in speaking, and also in spending: but it is much worse if he vse it not in his loue and affection: for it is a rule infallible: that euerie disordinate loue, bringeth with it some notable vice. It is a loue disordinate to bee carefull to gather riches, and not to haue a mynde to spend them: because vnto the greatnesse of Princes it appertaineth, to seeke what to spend: and not to lærne to keepe audit. It is a loue disordinate, for y prince to follow the direction of his owne proper will: because it is impossible but he shoule fayle to perfourme that which hee ought, that alwayes executeth his owne wilfull minde. Loue is disordinate, when the Prince employeth his loue in fewe, being Lord of many: bycause Princes in such wise ought to loue, and be bountifull vnto their priuate and fauoured seruaunts, that they disgrace not the nobles of their kingdome. Loue is disordinate, when Princes in vanities, and trifles do consume their times: bycause the curious gouernour

gouernour in such wise diuideth time betwixt him and the common wealth: that he neither wanteth for affaires, or hath too much to imploy in vices. Loue is disordinate, when the Prince is orgulous, quarellous, ambitious, and proude: for notwithstanding, that as a Prince they ought all to serue him: it followeth not that as a God, they shoulde ador him. Loue is disordinate, to hazarde the giuing and diuiding of rewardes, not as cuerie man deserueth, but according to the wil of him that gouerneth: for there is no equal infamie vnto the prince, as it is to chaſtice vice, & not to remunerate seruice. Loue is disordinate, when of will he taketh away frō another, that of right apperteineth not vnto him self: because to y greatnes & sinceritie of princes, it is iust & conuenient, y in their rewardes & gifts, they shew their franke liberalitie: & in receiving, they stande with all men in iustice. The case standeth thus: y the Prince which is indued with these loues & affections, may not escape many trauels, and also many souden assaults and perils: for y euerie disordinate affection, she her self, with her self, bringeth grieve and displeasure. Plutarche in his booke of cōmon welth, persuader the Emperour Traiane, that hee hath his will at libertie, and his loue subiect to no man: for that according as hee sayeth: It little profiteth that a Prince be Lord of many kingdomes: if on the other part, he become bondman to many vices. The diuine Plato saide, that for a prince to be good, hee ought to giue his heart vnto the common wealth, his rewardes vnto such as serue him, his desires vnto the Gods, and his loue vnto his friendes, his secretes to his priuie counsell: and the time to affaires. Oh how happy were that prince, that according to this Platonickall sentence

sentence should diuide and repart his person: because he being diuided for all: the whole should be ioyned together, with, and for him.

The authour applyeth all that which is sayd, vnto the end wherfore he did speake the same.

All that which we haue aboue sayde by writing, (most souereigne Prince) wee will vter and declare by example: for according to the saying of Eschines the Philosopher, Words well spoken, do awake and reuiue the iudgements: but great and manifest examples persuade the heart. For to leade or intice a man to be vertuous, and to do vertuous woorkes, it maketh muche to the matter, to persuade with discrete reasons, & sweete words: but in conclusiō, for much credite which we giue to y which he sayth: much more is giue to that which he doth. The Poet Homer said: „that it is, a thing verie easie to write acts of great prouesse, and verie difficil to performe them. For whiche cause it is necessarie, for such as deale with princes, to shewc them by example, all which they persuade the by writing: to the end they see most cleare, that the great and mightie deedes done by other Princes in the worldes: they want not force to performe them: but a minde to yndertake them. No Prince hath to holde of him selfe so small estimation, that he doubt to performe that which another Prince hath done in time past: for after this manner, Theodosius should be made, by the remembraunce of Seuerus: Seuerus, of Marcus Aurelius: Marcus Aurelius, of Antoninus Pius: Antoninus Pius, of Traiane: Traiane, of good Titus: Titus, of Cæsar Augustus: Cæsar Augustus, of Iulius Cæsar: Iulius Cæsar, of Scipio: Scipio, of Marcus Marcellus: Marcus Marcellus, of Quintus Fabius:

Quintus

Quintus Fabius, of Alexander Magnus: and Alexander Maghus, of Achilles the Greecke. The heartes of these so high Princes, did not reade and inquire of the deeds of their forefathers, to feare them, but to imitate them: & surely they had great reason: because *None amonst the mortal hath done any deed so glorious, that by another man may not be beautified and made better.* Princes be boūd to do such and so high deedes and enterprises, that of them selues be worthy praise, and very honourable for others to folow: for the same it is not more iecessary, to haue a noble minde to giue the enterprise: the after wards to haue the aduenture, to finish the same. Plutarche saith, that Agesilaus the Greecke said, that *Fortune did never shew her selfe noble, but unto a minde that was generous and noble:* and surely he said most truth, because *men lose many things, not because they may not attaine them, but for that, they dare not attempt them.* The Prince ought to straine and enforce him self to be good, and to imitate the vertuous: since *with leſſe cost, mē be vertuous the vitiouſ, milde then ouerhward, valiant then cowards, patient the furions, and sober then gluttons.* for the theſſe doth need as desperate a minde to ſcale an house, as a noble minde is due to a captein that foloweth the wars. Dionyſius the tyrant, Gorgius the tyrant, Bias the tyrant, Macrino the tyrant, & Catiline the tyrant: if we might commend them, and they of theſſe ſelues giue reason: they would ſwearc and affirme that they paſſed more trauell, and found theſſe ſelues in more perill in defending their tyraſſies, then Scipio and Cato in conſeruing their co- common wealthes. Oh, what great reason, and how much occaſion haue Princes to be good, and to fauour the good: ſince they haue authoritie to commaund, and riches to giue: whereof if they haue ſkylle

A.v.

to

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to take the aduaantage , with their potencie they frame them selues to be serued , and with their giftes they bring to passe to be loued. Ioyntly with this, I admonishe and also aduise Princes and great lordes, to be magnifificent in their giftes , and verie attemp-  
 tive in their commaundements . For , notwithstanding-  
 ding, a Prince may do what he list : it is not conue-  
 nient he do what he may . Although the authoritie  
 of the prince be free, absolute, and without measure:  
 to him it is conuenient in all things to vse measure  
 and moderation: for that euery gouernement that is  
 absolute, hath a taste or relishe of tyrannie . Many  
 Princes haue lost the selues by their vices which they  
 vsed: and many more haue beeene cast away by ex-  
 ecuting their will and power : for princes in perfour-  
 ming all that they can, and all which they will: it fol-  
 loweth, that their affection maketh them stumble: &  
 passion, their eyes to dazell. But ( moste souereigne  
 Prince ) speaking more particularly , by the imitation  
 of Plutarche , and Suetonius Tranquillus , I  
 thought good to translate, compile , and to refourme  
 the storie of the liues of tenne Romaine princes, wor-  
 thie moste surely to be knownen, and verie pleasant to  
 be read . The purpose wherefore ( moste mightie  
 Prince ) I haue taken so exceeding trauaile to com-  
 pounde this worke, is: vnto the ende my penne may  
 aduertise, wherein my tonguē with shame dismaith  
 to speake: for as Bias the philosopher saide : The au-  
 thoritie of princes is so greate , that of more things  
 they haue to giue them to vnderstand , then to dare  
 or presume to speake. The king Artaxerxes trauaile-  
 ling on a certeine daye, a man of the countrie presen-  
 ted him with a little water in the palme of his hand:  
 the

## The prologue.

the which water, the king receiued and dranke : and when some did murmur of that deede , and also de-  
 tract him: the king made aunswere: *It is no leſſe no-  
 blenesſe unto the Prince to receive little, then to giue greate  
 and bountiſhfull rewards.* The philosopher Lycurgus, that  
 was lawe giuer vnto the Lacedæmonians , com-  
 maunded those of his common wealthe , that they shoulde offer vnto their Gods fewe things  
 in number, and not riche of value: whereof, when he  
 was noted and also accused, made aunswere: I com-  
 maund not to offer vnto the Gods fewe things, for  
 that I thinke them not to deserue mucche, but because  
 all men should haue wherewith to offer : since of all  
 men they will be serued : for in the time of Apollo,  
 they saide vnto mee: that they had rather haue little  
 of manie, then much of fewe . In the lawe whiche  
 God gaue vnto the Hebrues , he was so limittid in  
 the thinges he demaunded , and so humaine in that  
 he cominaunded: that in the order of the sacrifices  
 which they should offer, he did ordeine and cōmaund  
 that the poore man whiche could not offer a goate,  
 should offer no more but of the hayre therof. In con-  
 sidering that Lycurgus offered vnto his Gods, iewels  
 of small price : and that king Artaxerxes receiued of a  
 poore man an handfull of water : and that vnto the  
 true and liuing God , they durſt offer no more  
 but of the hayres of a Goate, giueth  
 mee hardinesſe to present  
 this work vnto your  
 Maieſtie.  
 ( . . )

The

# The life of the good Emperour, Traiane

13

Coceins, naturally a Spaniard, borne in the citie  
of Calize, compiled by syr Anthonie of Gucuara, By-  
shoppe of Mondonmedo, preacher, chronicler,  
and counsellour unto the Emperour  
Charles the fifth.

## CHAP. I.

Of foure renoumed Cities that perished and  
were subuerted in Spaine.

**B**efore they had Emperours in Rome, either warre was raised in Carthage, ther were in foure provinces in Spaine, foure right notable cities, which in potencie did matche with Rome, in riches with Tyrus, in beautie with Heliæ, & in opulencie with Tarento. Who firske was Numantia: the seconde, Cantabria: the thirde, Ystobriga: the fourth, Italica. Strabo, Isodore, and Pomponio Mela, giue great admiration unto the readers, of the great power, richesse, and wealth of these foure cities. And on the other part, it is great pitie to consider, that there is nothing of them remayning to beholde. Not without cause it is saide, that nothing remaineth in them to be seene: because not withstanding the province, boundes, and climate is knownen of the foundation thereof: yet we may hardly attaine to name the verie place where it was built. Unto the citie of Numantia, Soria succeeded: unto y citie of Cantabria, succeeded Tudela of Nuarre: unto the citie of Ystobriga, succeeded Merida: unto the citie of Italica, succeeded Civil. The situation of the famous Numantia, as some men affirme, was vpon a certeine hill neare unto Soria on the other side of the bridge: and as others doe thinkie, her foundation brade in Garray a village of Soria ioyning vnto Duero. The situation of Cantabria, was a league from the citie of the Groine, and

and on that side of Ebro, vpon a certeine height where nowe are planted many vines. The seate of Ystobriga was, where nowe the ventes of Caparra, being bayling places, stand: and others say, yt was on the hill that standeth betwirt the two riuers Las varcas de Alconeta, yel casare de carceres. The situation of Italica was ioyning vnto the citie of Ciuit: and some saye it was vpon the way to Carmona: and that the arches of Carmona were made to furnishe the citie of Italica. O secrete iudgements of the mosse high, or humaine instabilitie, that all these places being viewed personally of my selfe, where these so excellent cities were buylt, I found not so muche as a tower, a wall, a streeete, or a house to beholde: neither so much as a stone almost to stumble at. We haue great reason to exclame, and much more hath the discrete reader to wonder: since we vnderstand that fourteene yeres Numantia resisted the power of the Romaines: and nowe we see it made a pasture for sheepe. We understande that Cantabria was the last thing whiche the Romaines did subdue in Spaine: and nowe there remaiñeth but a p̄tche of vineyardes in the same. We certainly knowe that the greatest strength whiche king Viriato held in Spaine, wa. Ystobriga: and nowe there remaiñeth not but certeine gȳone trees & shrubbes. They whiche w̄rite of the citie of Italica, do saye: that it was the most strong and the most esteemed of all the kingdome of Vandalia: and nowe they gather both wheat and barley in the same. Scipio the Africane destroyed the citie of Numantia, because in his first Panicke battels, they would not helpe the Romaines. Gracchus a Romaine captaine, subuerted the citie of Ystobriga, because from thence Viriato made him warre. Pompeius hoste destroyed the citie of Italica: for that in the parcialitie of Iulius Cæsar they were most faithfull. The Emperour Augustus ouerthrew the citie of Cantabria, as a man more moued with yre, then directed by reason. The case was thus: that as he had the citie besieged and brought in great distresse, he sent to require of the citizens, to yelde him all their treasure: and gine vnto Rome perpetuall tribute. The Cantabrians considering, what the Emperour de-  
maund

maunded: aunswere in a letter after this manner.

Emperour Augustus, we pray the immortall Gods to receiue thee into their defence, and that it may please them to examine betwixt thee and vs, who in this warre hath more iustice: and thou knowest, O immortall Prince, that men, although they haue power to take warre in hande, it is not in their handes, but in the Gods to obteine victorie: because we men begin many thinges with malice, the which afterwardes, the Gods do finish by iustice: with thy exceeding potencie it may not be denied, but that thou hast brought this sorrowfull citie into great distresse: in such wise that we haue neither bread to eate, either water to drinke, either skinnes to make garmentes, or corcke to make shooes, neither towers to couer vs: but ioyntly with this, thou hast to vnderstande, that if wee want armour wherwith to fight: wee lacke not heartes to abide death. It wel appeareth that thou hast made experience of our weake forces, and vnderstandest not the greatnessse of our mirides: since thou demaundest the treasure of our houses, and the libertie of our persons. The mynes that wee haue, be not of Golde to serue thee, but of yron, to breake thy pride. Doth it not seeme to thee, O emperour Augustus, that since you Romaines haue fought foure hundred yeres in straunge countries to be lordes, it were great reason for vs to fight in our owne houses, to escape bondage? Prosecute thy warres, and do according to the vse of other captaines of Rome, and care not to threaten vs, and muche leſſe to flatter vs: for notwithstanding our countrie & houses be thine by force, neuer whiles we haue life shall wee be, but the Gods and our owne.

This aunswere being hearde by the Emperour Augustus, he didsware by the immortall Gods, to take none of them to merite, either to leaue in the citie one storie vpon another. And as he promised, so he accomplished. I would saye in this case, that if it were euill to sware, it was muche worse to perfourme the same. Although it be an auncient custome, the w̄orde of a king to be kepte inviolable: for the good prince ought not to put in effect, that which he hath sworne in his yre.

## The life of the

## CHAP. II.

Of the countrie and birth of the  
Emperour Traiane.



prosecuting our intent, it is to understand that in the dayes when warre was extremely kindled betwixt Iulius Cæsar & Pompeius, the Pompeians helde Ystobriga, which nowe is named Lebrixia: and the Cæsarians helde Gades, whiche nowe is named Calize; these two cities did serue to gather their banished; to succour their allies, and their wounded. Before the citie of Italica was destroyed by the Pompeians, there did florish two famous knightes: the one was named Iulius Coceius, & the other, Rufus Vlpius: and these two knightes, were not onely Captaines at armes, but also were chiefe of those two lineages, that is to saye, of the Coceians and of the Vlpians. Before that cruell warres entred the citie of Italica, these two lineages had alwayes betwixt them greate contention: but after warres began, they ioyned in great friendship: for that it hapneth many times, that hartes which may not ioyn by loue, do after consent and agree by feare. The citie of Italica being destroyed, these two knightes came to live at Gades, which nowe is named Calize: the one of them that was named Coceius, was graundfather to the Emperour Nerua: and the other which was named Rufus Vlpius, was great graundfather of the Emperour Traiane, and of the Emperour Adrian by the mothers side. The Emperour Traiane was borne in the citie of Calize the xxi. of Maye, in the secunde yere of the Empire of Nero, Rufus and Catinus being consuls. In those times there was not in all Europe, so famous, so generous, either yet so profitable a studie, as that of the citie of Calize: because from Africa they repayzed to studie: and from Gracia came to learne. And to the ende it shall not seeme a fable, let them reade Plutarche in the life of Traiane, Philon in the booke of Schooles, and Philostrato

## Emperour Traiane.

in the life of Apollonius. In that citie of Calize, vntill the age of xv. Traiane studide the Greke tong, the Latine, & Rhetorike. Traiane was high of body, somewhat blacke of face, thinne of haire, thicke of beard, a croker nose, breade shoulders, large handes, and his eyes, in beholding, amorous. Traiane entring the yeares of xvij. leff his studie, and did exercise armes: wherin he was no lese towarde then valiaunt. Traiane was of great swiftnesse on fote, and of great readinesse on horsbacke: in such wise that it is sayde of him, y he was never thrown, or had fal fro his horse: or euer was ouerrun on fote. There chaunced a certeine flote of pyrates to arriu at Calize, the which being many, and taking the citizens at vniwares: the god yong man Traiane, did shew him selfe that day so valiaunt in fight, and so venturous in conqueit, that to him alone they did attribut the libertie of their countrie, and the glory of the victorie. Amongst the Myrmidons, whiche be they of Merida, and amongst the Ricinians, whiche be they of Truxillio, there was raised in those dayes a certeine little warre for the pastures of Gaudiano: for that the Myrmidons did say, they had held them time out of mind: they of Truxillio aduouched, that they had lost them, and had received of them assistance to win them of the enemies. The Myrmidons did craue succour of them of Calize, in respect of their conderation: the Gauditaines did accept the embassage of the Myrmidons, as concerning their succour, and when they had chosen Traiane for capteine of their armie: he made answere: The destynies never permit, either the gods ever command, that I take a sword to shed the bloud of mine owne countrie: because if the one be our friends, truly the other be not our enemies. And said more: Since the warre is not begun, and the cause of their debate may be discussed by justice, it is my opinion, rather to sende them embassadours to bring them friendes: then capteines to attempt wars. Conformable vnto all men, Traianes answere was, both ginen and accepted: the which from thence forward, was holden & esteemed for a knight of great valiantnesse: and

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and for a man of great wisedō and iudgement. These two vertues goe not alwayes by couples: that is to say, valiantnesse and wisedome: bycause, there be some men that be doutie to take perils in hād, & be not wise to escape thē.

## C H A P. I I I.

Howe Traiane passed out of Spaine being a yong man, to goe into Italic.

In the second yere of the Empire of the god Vespasian, great Britaine rebelled which is now named England against the Romaine Emperour: vnto which warres Traiane repaired, and this he did without charges to the Romaines, and for him self to obteine fame accompanied with many others of his countrie: In those warres Drusius Torquatus was capteine for the Romaines: Who perswading Traiane to take wages of the Romaine people, as all others did injoy in that warres: Traiane answered. The merchaunts that come from thence hither, they repaire to be more rich, but we Gentlemen not to be richer, but moze honoured. The fame that Iugurth obteined in the warres of Numantia, that same Traiane obteined in the warres of Britaine: in that the one and the other were knighthes of straunge countries, and young venturous, and also forzunate: bycause for their powers and noble deedes, whiche they atchieued in those warres: Iugurth was king of Numidia, and the god Traiane came to be Emperoz of Rome. That daye whiche Drusius Torquatus entered Rome, triumphing of the Britaines, being accompanied not onely with knighthes subdued, but also with knighthes and noble men that had ouercome: all the Romaines did inquire for Traiane to see him and knowe him, for that his fame was notorius vnto all men, but his person in Rome to verie fewe knowne. And hereof it proceeded in processe of time, when Traiane, and Marius Fabritius, did contend for the Consulship of Germanie: Fabritius taunted Traiane, to be a straunger borne, and disgraced in the feature of his body, vnto whom Traiane made answere: I confesse vnto thee Marius Fabritius, that thy good face was knowne in

Rome,

## Emperour Traiane.

Rome, before thy euill life: but thou canst not denie, that in Rome they did not knowe mine honest life, before my euill face. At the first when Traiane came to Rome, Titus, sonne to Vespasian the Emperour, placed him Prefour of ten legions: and sent him to the frontiers of Illyria: where he remained all the life of Titus. The Romaine legions did not a little murmur to haue Traiane for their capteine: affirming that in age he was a childe, & in nation a straunger: but after when they found him so valiant in fighting, & so wise in gouernment, they loued him as a father, & obeyed him as a capteine. And as in winter Traiane wanted victuals, for that he had taken truce with the Barbarians: a certaine gentleman sayd vnto him: it is not conuenient thou shouldest be so sad, or that we shoulde suffer so great penurie: take in god part, that by dissimulation we break the truce, by which meane we shal prouide for our selues, and our cattel. The god Traiane answered: I am not only grieved with that thou speakest, but also despited with ȳ presumest to say: for those matters which we set downe by promise, we haue not so great cause to obserue our fidelite made vnto men: as for that we haue sworne by ȳ immortal Gods. And ȳ Emperour Titus being dead, his broþer Domitian did succēde him in the Empire: which whē Traiane understood, presently he left the charge of frontier capteinship of Illyria. The emperour Domitian was not a little grieved, & the whole armie, as also all the Senate, ȳ Traiane had forzake ȳ frontiers of Illyria: for that in matters of warre he had great experience, & no lesse fortune. The Romaines did vse great vigilancie, in seeking and conseruing fortunate capteines: with whom they did dissemble & suffer more defections, then with al other persons: and this they did, bycause there be many capteines, that if they be expert in armes, they be moſte unforzunate in the execution thereof.

Traiane remaining in Rome, without all disposition to take charge of an armie: ȳ emperour Domitian sayd vnto him: tell me Traiane, is it doubtful that my empire is lesse

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then that which my father Vespasian helde: or that I am moxe ingrate then my brother Titus was: that for them thou shuldest euerie day aduenture thy life, and for my service thou dauest to take a launce in hande: Traiane did answere him: I confesse that thy power is as great as thy fathers, and thy knowledge no lesse then thy brothers: but ioyntly with this, thou arte verie souden in thy commandements, and very swift in the execution thereof: and it may be, that hauing charge of thy armies, I might be commaunded to doe some thing: the accomplishment whereof, might stand muche against all bountie: and not perfourming the same, I shoulde breaue the oth of fidelite, that I haue made vnto thee.

## CHAP. IIII.

Of the friendship and parentage that Traiane had with the Emperour Nerua.

In those dayes there was a certaine Consul named Nerua Coceius, banished out of Rome by the Emperour Domitian, a man in yeares very auncient, and in all that he eyther sayde, or did, of great credite. As Traiane was at that time in the disgrace of the Emperour Domitian, frō Rome he departed vnto Nola, a certain place where Nerua was in Campania: bycause It is a thing very common vnto a man afflicted, to seekle the companie of an other in like trouble. These two right excellent men, whiche is to say, Nerua and Traiane, remained there long time in Campania, pore, banished, persecuted, & out of fauour: abyding the time when Domitian shuld send to kill the, or when they shulde haue that he were dead: because if they desired his death, no lesse did he seekle occasiō to take away their liues. Traiane, for that he was young, helde Nerua who was olde in great veneration: and Nerua did beare so great affectiō vnto Traiane, that he did loue him & vse him as his serue: for that Traiane besides his sufficie & ablenesse for all causes, was in his conuersation most amorous. Nerua and Traiane remaining in that banishment, found them

them selues of neare kinred and affinitie: that is to say, of one countrie, which was Spaine, of one place, which was Italica, and that the one descended of the Coccians, and the other of the Vlpians, two famous and auncient lineages: of whome we haue aboue made mention. When Traiane passed into Italie, he found no other parentage, but Nerua and Vlpius Ricinius his buckle: which was two times Consul in Rome. Some say that this Vlpius Ricinius, was father vnto Traiane: but the truth is, that he was but his buckle: for Plutarche in an Epistle that he wri-  
teth vnto Traiane, sayth: The good newes in Rome being knowne, howe thou hast ouercome king Decebal, which did tyrannize this lande: so great was the ioy which the people did receiue, that as thy fathers bones be in Spaine, they had bene here in Italie: they would do no lesse honour vnto them in the sepulchre, then they shall yeadle vnto thee on that day, when thou shalt enter triumphing into Rome. And for that Nerua was so auncient and so honourable, and Traiane so valiaunt and so wel liked, many Romaines did come and goe betwene Rome and Campania to see them: and this was done more secretely then publickely, bycause the Emperour Domitian was verie suspicous: being most true, Verie fewe dare serue or followe such as princes do hate. Amongest all other that went frō Roine vnto Campania to see these two knights, was the great Philosopher Plutarche: who with Traiane, and Traiane with him, did plante so perfect and sounde friendship, that onely death was able to gine ende to the same. And as Plutarche saue suche abilitie and will in Traiane to learne, & ioyntly with this there was no wars wherein to be exercised, he was so drunken with learning, that he did abhorre armes: vpon which occasion Nerua saide in iest: By my counsel thou shalt leaue booke, and returne to armes, since thou haste better handes to fight, then a tong to dispute: for that it is not iust thou shouldest cease to be singular amongst capteines, to be indifferent among Philosophers. Traiane remayning there in

## The life of the

Campania, did marrie with Plotina, which was his onely wife : and is sayde only, for that before now after did ever marrie other : the which vertue vntil his time was found in no Romaine prince : for that by growing olde or misliking of the one, presently they did take another. And as on a day certaine Romaines practised by secrete deuice to kill the Emperour Domitian : and in great secrecie, gaue part therof vnto Traiane, did answere : I do well see that Domitian deserued not to be elected Emperour, & much lesse deserueth to be sustaine in the same : yet never the more shal I consent vnto his death : for that I will rather suffer a tyrant, then recover the renowne of a traitour. Many Romaines on a time murmuring of the insolencies of the Emperour Domitian, Traiane sayde vnto them : The intention wherwith Domitian hath intreated me, the Gods haue to iudge : for of his works which he hath done, I may not complaine, since he hath bene the occasion that I haue recovered Nerua for my father, Plutarche for my maister, & Plotina for my wife ; and aboue al the rest, he brought me acquainted with aduerse Fortune : for that afore I presumed of nothing but to command : but now only to serue. A yere before Domitian died, or to say better, before they had staine him, he went to the wars in Germanie : and in that yere Traiane was elected Consul, in the Senate of Rome. It was no smal griefe vnto Traiane to accept that Consulship: not for that he liked not to be linked with the friendship of honour : but for the griefe whiche he felte to leave the companie of Nerua,

## CHAP. V.

Howe Nerua was made Emperour, and adopted Traiane his sonne.

The

## Emperour Traiane.

The Romans not able to indure the iurries and tyrannies of Domitian, determined to kil him, the whiche art of hande they did perfourme : the viii. of October, in the fourtie fiftie yere of his age, when he had reigned yb. yeares. In many a day the Romaine people had not receiued so ioyful newes, as y newes of the death of Domitian: in such maner, that they gaue rich rewards vnto curriers & postes that brought the same, and made great ioy in the countries where they passed : for that they did as muche desire his death, as they did abhorre his life. Petronius capteine of the guard, and Partenius his chamberleine, were the men that practised the death, and also violated the life of Domitian : and they them selues gaue order, that Nerua presently should be elected Emperour. The Romaines did so extremely hate Domitian, that not contented to see him deade, & to hale his bodie peregrinale trayling through the streates of Rome, al his pictures and counterfets they did spoyle and take away, all his arches and titles they did raze out, all his edifices whiche he had built they ouerthrew, all writings whiche he had firmed they burnt, and all that were named Domitians were banished, in suche wise, that they could neyther indure to see him aliuine, neyther heare him named after his death. The day after the death of Domitian, Nerua Coceius was declared Emperour : and of his election all the Romaine people were much pleased : the one cause, for that he was so vertuous, and the other, because he was an enimie vnto Domitian. Presently that Nerua was elected Emperour, presently he sent Traiane as Pretour into Germanie, to the end he should take into his power, the legions and gouernement of that prouince : on the one parte, for that Traiane was liked, and muche desired of all the men of warre : and the other for that Calphurinus capteine vnto Domitian was holden somewhat suspected.

Amongest other euill conditions wherewith the Emperour Domitian was possessed, was : that all things which seemed vnto him god, riche, or faire, he dyd much

## The life of the

praise it, and therof they had to consider soz most certaine, that all whiche he praised, frely they had to present the same: soz if other wise, incontinently he tooke it by force. Of these like things Nerua found in his palace, much gods of other mens: whiche by publike proclamation were all restored vnto the owners: In suche wise, that this god prince wold not only not take frō other men, but also make restitution of y which by his predecessours had bin robbed. When Nerua was elected Emperour, he was exceeding olde, and of infirmities much persecuted: soz in him there was nothing sound but his young wherewith he did talke, and his god iudgement wherewith he did gouerne. The Romaines beholding Nerua so olde, and sickly, complaingning that he coulde not sleepe, and that soz weaknesse of stomach, he durst eate but of verie fewe things: they helde it soz most certaine, that his life was verie short, and with this motion they beganne to holde him in smal estimation. Considered by Nerua, that he had not long to liue, and that the Romaines did not esteeme him: he remembred to adopt Traiane as his sonne, and to accept him for companion in the Empire: and so it came to passe, that presently he sent him the imperiall ensigne, which was a certaine manner of cape with a hode, and with the same he wrote him a letter, wherein were written no other wozdes but these: Phoebe tuis telis, lachrimas vlciscere nostras. As if he shuld say: Noble Traiane, thou shalt haue charge with thy venturous armes to reuenge my sorrowfull teares. For the disobedience whiche the Romaines committed against his commaundements, and the want of reuerence they helde of his person, Nerua of Traiane craved that reuengement, because it is a thing much vsed amongst men persecuted & afflicted, that the iniuries which they may not reuenge with their handes, they bewaile with their eyes. In the time that this did passe, Traiane was in Almane, in the citie of Agrippina, which nowe is called Coleine, and the night before that he received the imperiall ensigne, and the letter from the Emperour Nerua, he dreamed that he was

was inuested with a purple garment, and a ring put on his right hand, and crowned with a certaine crowne. Only thre monethes and five dayes did passe after Traiane was elected Emperour, vnto the death of Nerua: who dyed in the age an hundred tenne yeares, ten monethes, and tenne dayes.

## THE VI. CHAP.

Of the lawes that Traiane made, to the profite of the common wealth.

At the instant in which Traiane understoode, that the Emperour Nerua was deade, he departed vnto Rome: where at his cominge he did celebrate the obsequies of his Lord and friend Nerua: and they were suche and so riche, that it seemed rather feastes for the living, then honours for the dead: because there was nothing in them y moued sadness, but to see Traiane goe verie sad. The first thing that Traiane sayd, promised, & sware in the Senate, was: that no man that was good and peaceable, by his cōmaundement or consent, should be put to death: which he obserued, al y daies of his Empire. After this he cōmanded Emilia to be sent soz, which was captaine of the Pretorian armies: whom he cōmaunded to be discharged of his office, and to be banished the Empire: the one cause, soz he had disobeyed the emperour Nerua: and the other cause, soz he had imbezled the payes of the men of warre. He cōmaunded publike proclamation to be made, that all men that had iust cause to complaine of the Consuls, of the Senatours, of the Judges, or other officers of Rome, that they shoulde come forth and declare: soz that he wised satisfaction vnto the one, and correction vnto the other. Personally Traiane did visite all offices of Rome: which is to understande, where they solde bzeaue, where they weighed flesh, where they measured wine, where the merchants dwelt, where straungers did lodge, and so of al other

other offices: among which, he allowed all that was good, and gaue reformation unto all that was euill. He forbad the vse of shops or tauernes in Rome, that is to saye: that they shold not sell bread, wine, and fleshe drest in one house: affirming, that prepared vices, is the occasion to make many vicious. He commaunded all the neighbours of Rome to be registred: and there was found 28,000 houses of married men, and 4,200 young men to be married, 7,000 priestes of the temples, 3,200 common women, 12,000 houses de mesones, and 6,5000 straunger factours. He forbad any poore man to goe from doore to doore, but that all which were impotent, shold be succoured of the common treasure: and unto such as could traenise, they gaue them whercon to wozke from the Senate. He commaunded all Juglars and Testers to learne some occupation, and to mainteine them selues in their owne houses: and other wise to be banished Rome. Traiane commaunded resoulation in all estates, and caused examination to be taken of al students: and they were more without comparison that were banished for vnable and vicious, then remained for learned and vertuous. For that in Rome there were people of many straunge countries, toynly there, with so many women, of which many did perishe in chylbed: and many chylben died for want of place to brede them: For which purpose the god Traiane did cause to be buylt a famous house in the mount Celus, and indued the same very well with his owne patrimonie: where all women that woulde, were kepte and brought abedde by the space of two monches: and that all the chylben vntill the age of fourre yeres were there brought vp and nourished. Traiane consented not, that in all the yere they shold obserue in Rome but xii. holydayes: saying, that without comparison, the Gods were moze served on such dayes as the Romaines did traenise, then on such dayes as they red: because the vices were moze whiche they did commit, then the sacrifices whiche they did offer. Traiane did moderate the sacrifices that were offered unto the Gods, that

is to say, neither to haue so many, nor yet so sumptuous: saying, that the Gods would rather we shold amend our liues, then offer our goods. Unto the priestes of the temple he commaunded to be giuen oyle, unto the bestall vingers wheate, unto the olde horsemen cloth for garments, unto the poore wood to burne, unto Embassadours wine to drinke: for that all these things were not enely in Rome verie deare to be bought: but also not at all times to be had for money.

## CHAP. VII.

¶Of the noble and notable vertues that were in Traiane.

THE yere that Traiano came to Rome to be Emperour, he was of xlii. yeres, in which age, he had in all thinges such successe, and did haue such moderation, that neither by his youth did hazarde the attempt of any foolish deed: either by slouthfultnesse of old age, did leaue any thing euil prouided. Traiane was a Prince, in whose wordes & workes enuie was never knowne: and as on a certeine tyme the philosopher Plutarche did commend him for the same, Traiane saide vnto him: Plutarche, I give thee to understand, that of pure pride, I am not envious: for that alwayes I thought my selfe happie, to enterprise suche, so greate, and so notable dedes, that all men shold enue me for the thinges I shold take in hand: and my selfe to mislike no man for any his noble attempts. Traiane was not malitious, either suspicous, although by nature he were of sharpe iudgement: which hapeneth in few persons, for y commonly, men of sharpe iudgement, be not alwayes of sound condition. And as great affaires naturally bring with them great thoughtes and displeasures: althoughe vnto Traiane they gaue some griefe, he was never seene of man to be angry, because olde wisedome had moze Lordship in him, then loude yre. Althoughe Traiane hadde manye that did wylle him euill, and

preasure

procure him euill: some for malice, some for enuie, and some bycause he did challice them. He was neuer found that vterly did seeke his destruction: but that in challicing the quareller and vicious, they moze commended him for his clemencie, then complained or murmured for their griefe and punishment. Although Traiane were not much learned, he was moze truely a greate frende vnto learned men: whome he did promote vnto honours and to estates, and did much ioy to holde them for his friendes: in such wise, that in his house and court, a learned man was never seene in necessitie. Traiane did much desire to understande the ambitions of Rome, and disorders of his house: but ioyntly therewith he woulde not be aduertised by the manner of murmuring, but rather by the way of aduice. Traiane was a great enimie of liers, & no lesse of detractors: for which cause they say, þ many times he sayd: It is more safe vnto princes, to haue patiēce to heare their own errours, then to giue care vnto such as reporte other mens defeccons: and sayde more. That of necessitie the Prince must haue bloudie hands, that giueth care to murmurers. Traiane wāted þ general vice which vsually reigeth in all men, which is couetousnesse, wherof he was not either accused or noted: but rather of great bountie & larges, he was of all nations well liked & commended, because they were infinite that did praise him, for that which they had received, and no man did complaine for that which he had taken. Traiane naturally did delight in warres, and after they were begunne, verie diligent in prosecuting, and most constant in finishing the same. Albeit he was giue vnto warres, yet therfore he ceased not to procure by al mea- nes to conserue peace: for as he said, The Gods never per- mitted that any should be ouercome in the wars, but such as be enimies vnto peace. Traiane was verie moderate in the ordinarie expēces of his house: & ioyntly with this, most liberall in causes of war: and most certainly in the same he shewd him self to be a prince skilful, prouident & wise: for as Plato sayde, If the expences of the common wealth

be not moderated, afterwardes ye shall not faile, to want wherewith to withstand the enimies.

## CHAP. VIII.

¶ Of the proude and stately buildinges which Traiane made.

Traiane made in Rome many & very notable buyldings: it is to vnderstande, a great and sumptuous market place, and all the things that were in the compasse thereof. He made a paued calley, being a broad high waye that lasteth two leagues and halfe, wherone they might come & go in Summer without dust, and in Winter without mire. He made a temple vnto the God Apollo, another vnto the god Mars, another vnto the god Jupiter, another vnto the god Esculapius, another vnto the goddesse Ceres, another vnto the goddesse Bellona, another vnto the mother Berecynthia, whome the Romanes named the mother of all the Gods. He repaired the decayed walles, he made tenne paire of milles vppon barkes on the riuier of Tyber, in which he commaunded that the priestes, the vestall virgins, and the olde knightes shoulde first grinde and be serued. He did repaire and inlarge the colledge, and placed gates, porters, and watchemen, and many counterfetes and pictures of golde and siluer: and did use for custome as oft as he came thither, to be the first that en- fered, and the last that went forth. He buylt in all streetes in Rome publique purgynge places, and commanded vpon great & grievous penalties, that no man shoulde be so har- die to desile the strectes, or other open places: in such ma- ner, that all the dayes of Traiane, Rome did not seeme, but as a hall cleane swept. In the fourth region ioyning vnto the temple of Serapis, Traiane did buyld most sumptuous baynes, much larger then those which Titus made, and much richer then those which Tyberius buylt. Also Traiane buylt an hundred houses large and strong, wher-

in to kill and sell their beefe and mutton. In the gardeines of Vulcane, Traiane did buylde an house of pleasure, and made therein a certain fishepole for delight: but it is not found or recorded, that he did either eate or sleepe in the same. Neare vnto the houses of the Fabians, he broughte from farre a fountaine, in the compasse whereof he erected a stately house, naming it the place of Datia. Traiane naturally, was a friend not onely of buylding, but also to beholde buyldinges and worke men: whiche is most certeinly knownen, in that he made a lawe: that all such men as should raise any newe buyldinges in Rome, the thirde parte of the charges shoulde be paide from the common treasure. It was a marueilous matter, that in all these & many other buyldinges whiche Traiane made in Rome, he vsed no other mennes money, he constrained no man to tranaile by force, he deferred no man of payement, for he saide and helde opinion, that it were more honest and also more sure vnto Princes, to dwell in poore lodginges: then of other mennes sweat to make richie houses.

## CHAP. IX.

¶ Of some vices whereof Traiane was noted.

Traiane wanted not some humaine infirmities, where in men at times do fall: for, if with reason he were praised for many thinges: not without occasion in some causes he was tustly discommended. Untill this daye there hath bene no Prince in whome all vertues did concurre, either in whome all vices were founde: because, there is no man such an outcast, in whome there is not to be found somewhat to be praised: either any man of life so resorted, that in him there is not somewhat to be amended.

Traiane

Traiane naturally was proude and ambitious of honour: and after a manner he did delight, that in open place they shoulde erecte vnto him pictures and counterfetes of golde, and that his fame might be spreade throughout the wrold. In all his erected buyldinges he placed the titles of his triumphes, and persuaded the Dratours to compounde many metres to his praise, whiche he made to be grauen in stone in the hyest front of his buyldinges. In the vise of the fleshe, Traiane was not a little fleshy: and yet in this case it is mosse true, that he never vsed force to any person: but ioyntly therewith, being mosse diligent in persualion, and verie liberal in giuing: he tired his amorous affection vppon no person, that he enjoyed not. In his garmentes, and in the manner of the fashyon and weareing thereof, Traiane was most curious and costly: by cause there was no daye, that either of Golde, siluer, or silke, he did not on his person vse some chaunge.

As we haue saide, Traiane was a Prince both wise, and of sharpe and readie iudgement: but ioyntly therewith, muche affectionate vnto his owne opinion: whereof cares many times did followe and persecute him: by cause, there is not, hath bene, or shalbe Prince in this worlde, so wise, that necessitie constraineth not, at times, to chaunge counsell.

Traiane was a verie friende vnto wise men, but he him selfe was not muche learned: whereof beeing reproched by his friende and Philosopher Plutarche: Traiane saide vnto him: the Gods haue not created mee to turne ouer booke, but to deale with armour. When Traiane had vacant time from warres, he did muche delight to take his pleasure in vaine thinges, wherein he consumed many nightes and dayes, and of this vice he was not a little noted, and also accused: and doubtlesse not without great cause: for that Princes which presume to bee good Princes, in such wise ought to take their pastime, that they seeme not to lose their time. Notwithstanding that Traiane deliuered Rome of manye vices, and

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and banished from thence many that were vicious he was noted and also blamed, that he defended and susteined the sworde players, who were men ydle and seditious, and this he did, because in his youth they had beene his frends, and delighted in them: wherin he had leste reason, for that It is not iust, that Princes take suche recreation for their persons, as tendeth to the preiudice of the comon wealth. Traiane was verie moderate in feeding, but ioyntly therewith, not ouer sober in drinking: for that to obteine god wine, he was somewhat curious and carefull, and in the drinking thereof, not verie temperate. Notwithstanding, that sometimes he dranke somewhat moze then was convenient for the health of his bodie, and to the authoritie of his person: yet, at that time, neuer man saue him committ or procure any vile deede.

## CHAP. X.

## ¶ Of the first warres that Traiane had against the Datians.

In the xliii. yere of his age, and in the second of his Empire, Traiane received newes, that Decebal king of Datia, which in these dayes is named Denmarke, rebelled against the Romaine Empire: the which newes gaue no small scandal and offence vnto the Senate: for that on the one part naturally they were a nation very warlike: and on the other parte, for that king Decebal was a prince of great quietnesse, and also of a minde determined. For that the Empereur Domitian was a greater friend vnto vices, then an enimie vnto enimies: in all his reigne, king Decebal did never yeld obedience vnto the Romaine Empire: whereby the Datians had receaved great boldnesse, and the Romaines lost their credite.

Traiane, in his owne person determined to go in those warres: for which purpose he made choice of a verie small armie, and yet of much strength: for he helde opinion, that

## Emperour Traiane.

that, as no other meates should be brought vnto the table, then are to be eaten: so they ought not to leade vnto the warres, but such as must fight: and saide further: by experiance I haue proued, as well in eating, as in fighting, that many meates at table be lothesome: and in the warres many men be troublesome. King Decebal heing aduertised, that Traiane remoued from Rome to make conquest of him and his countrie, determined to marche and encounter with him vpon the waye: and as he purposed so he perfourmed: for he helde the Romaines in so small estimation, that he counted it shame to be besieged of them. And when the armes were in sight one of another, the Barbarians being so manye, & the Romaines so fewe: they did not a litle persuade Traiane, to take peace, or to make some honest truce, and without peril to return to Rome. Traiane to this made aunswere: our weakenesse should be great, and with great reason they would blame vs in Rome, if so soudely we should ceasse to make warre, without first making strooke, to what ende their forces do extende, and also understande what our destinies do containe: bycause it may be, that if their power be great, our fortune may be much greater. King Decebal had taken & fortifid all the daungerous passages, and broken all brigdes, barkes, & boates of all the riuers, and had taken & spoyled all the victuals where the Romaines shoule passer: and all these thinges were occasions to increase trauaile vnto Traiane, but not of power sufficient to remoue his enterprize: for that Traiane was of so balliant a minde, that "where he saue fortune most doubtfull, from thence he did "hope of victorie moste certeine. Traiane did take & possesse "the height of the rockes and mountaines, and thereon with all his armie did trauaile many nights and dayes: & king Decebal did never conceiue that Traiane would trauaile by those thornie mountaines: for that he thought it impossible for men to trauaile where beastes could not escape. King Decebal was constrained to returne vnto the plaine countrie, and to fortifie him selfe in strong cities, &

to this ende Traiane did purpose not to fight in mountains that be daungerous, but in fielues that be plaine: for he saide, that they came not to fight with the mountaines, whiche bved bruite beastes: but to tame cities which sinne seditious men. In very short space Traiane had taken nine cities, seven castels, and many prisoners: among which Mirto was taken, being vncle, tutour, and capteine of king Decebal: a man of greate grauitie and of no lesse authozitie. Traiane was so rigozous with them that did resist him and so pitifull vnto such as did yelde them, that some for loue, and others for feare, began secretly to practise throughout the kingdome, totally to yeald them selues vnto Traiane: because they sawe every day Traianes force to increase, and the power of king Decebal to decay and growe very weake. Traiane besieging a certeine citie named Myrtha, holding the captaine therof in great distresse, king Decebal forgate not to sende him reliexe & succour of great power: against whome Lucius Metellus, a captaine of Traianes did march and aduaunce him selfe who at that instant fought so valiantly and manlike, that he left not of all the enimies one onely yerson, that was not either taken or slaine. And as in that battaile manye Romaines were slaine, and many more wounded, lacking clothes to binde vp their woundes, Traiane tare his owne shirt to supply their want in that behalfe. Being knowne within the citie, howe their succour was discomfited, and howe Traiane, to cure his wounded had rent his own shirt, they did feare the victorie, and were amazed at a worke of so great clemencie, and bothe these things were not a little prejudiciale vnto king Decebal, chiesely for that he was proude and disdainfull: for the good Traiane, with his engins he ouerthrewe their castels, with y fame of his god workes, he did robb and stcale the mündes of his armie.

The citie of Myrtha beeing taken and rendred into the handes of Romaines, presently king Decebal sent Ambassadours vnto Traiane, advertising that he woulde become

become subiect vnto the Romaine Empire: vpon such condition, that the thinges whereon they shoulde capitulate, were reasonable, and such thinges as they shoulde commaunde to be perfourmable: for otherwise, he and his were determined rather to dye with libertie, then to live in bondage. The conditions that Traiane sent to demand were these.

That he should leaue all armour, discampe his armie, subuert his castels, yelde his engins, retake that which was robbed, become a friende vnto the friendes, and an enimie vnto the enimies of the Senate, render such captaines as came to his succour, and giue 100000 peulants of golde to paye the armie, and giue one of his sonnes in pledge for suretie of all promises. All these conditions king Decebal was contented to swaere and obserue: except the rendering of the captaines which came in his favour to succour him: saying that so vile a deede did not agree with the clemencie of Traiane to demaunde it: neither vnto his royll fidelitie to graunt it: for that he yelde him selfe and his countrey, but to preserue the life of his friendes and alies. King Decebal came vnto the presence of Traiane, and knelling vpon the grounde, did take off the crowne from his head and kissed the knee and the hand of Traiane: the which lifting him from the grounde and againe placing the crowne vpon his head: saide vnto him: I admitt thee to kisse my knee for the rebellion which thou hast committed, and I gaue thee my hande to kisse for the vassalage whiche thou owest mee: nowe I giue thee place to sitt by mee as a friend: I returne thy crowne vnto thee, as vnto a king: and therefore, learne to vnderstande thy faulfe past, and to conserue this present benefite: for otherwise, thou shalt put mee to muche traualle, and thy selfe in great peril.

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CHAP. XI.

¶ Howe Traiane triumphed of the Datians, and  
resouerned his common wealth.

Many castels being furnished, and others ouerthowen  
and subuerted, and the armies being paide with king  
Decebalus money: Traiane departed unto Rome, leading  
with him the kinges sonne for pledge, and other noble  
men for Ambassadours: because it was a lawe much vsed  
and also obserued amongst the Romaines, that it were  
of no value which was capitulate in the wars, if it were  
not confirmed in y Senate at Rome. The Ambassadours  
of king Decebal arrived at Rome before the Emperour  
Traiane: who bareheaded, their armour thowne downe,  
and their hands ioyned and lifted vp, did humbly beseeche  
the Senate, that it might please them to pardon kinge  
Decebal the rebellion which he had committed against  
them, and to confirme all that which the Emperour Trai-  
ane had capitulate, bycause for that which had passed, he  
did repente him, and for tyme to come did offer amedes.  
With readie disposition the Romaine Senate did approue,  
allowe, and confirme all actes agreed vppon betwixt Trai-  
ane and the Datians: and presently commaunded their  
armour to be restored them, & to walk in y citie at their li-  
bertie: bycause it was a lawe inviolable, that the Ambas-  
sadours whose Princes helde warres with the Romaine  
people, might weare no kinde of armour, either walke  
the streetes at libertie without licence. Many and most ex-  
treme were the feastes wherewith the Romaines did re-  
ceive the Emperour Traiane, & very great was the riches  
y he bestowed in his triumph: & admitting y the Romaine  
did much riotoyce to see their Empire riche & in great pow-  
er: but it did muche more please them to beholde Traiane  
returned whole, safe, and aliuie: for it is incredible, what  
affection and loue all men did beare him, and the sacri-  
fices beyonde all value that for him they did offer.

¶

## Emperour Traiane.

On the daye of his triumph, the sonne of king Decebal  
was placed in the arche with Traiane, for that he was a  
verie childe: whome afterwardes he did intreate, not as  
a prisoner, but as his owne proper sonne. In the conquest  
of the Datians, and in visiting the Germanes, Traiane  
was detayned willingly two yeares: and at his returne  
vnto Rome, he found not the common wealth in such or-  
der as he left the same, and thereof is no marueile: for  
Princes making warre with their enimies, presently the  
citizens make peace with vices. That day in which Trai-  
ane entred triumphing into Rome, he that by chaunce  
was mosle noted in those playes and pageantes, and of  
whome Traiane that day did take mosle delight, was a  
certeine maister of Enterludes named Pilas, who for re-  
warde of his trauaille, did not craue of Traiane but licence  
to vse his facultie. Wherein Traiane did aunswere him:  
Princes haue to consider that their commaundements be  
iust: but after commaundement, for no request or seruice  
they ought to reuoke the same. That which I will do for  
thee, shal be to paye thee verely out of mine owne treasure,  
as muche as thou maist gaine by playing in the streetes of  
Rome.

Although Traiane went laden with armour, compas-  
sed with affaires, occupied in warres, busied in buyldings,  
impostuned with friendes, tyred with enimies, and aboue  
all, mosle studious in amplifying his fame, and to perpe-  
tuate his memorie: he never grewe negligent in god go-  
vernemant of the common wealth. He was no lesse atten-  
tive in hearing, either lesse diligent in dispatching base &  
civill affaires, then those cascs of great weight in the com-  
mon wealthe. Notwithstanding he were much busied in  
the affaires of warres, he did never the more grewe neglig-  
ent in the administration of iustice. All the tyme that he  
was remaining in Rome, once or twice a weeke he did  
sitt openly to dispatche matters of iustice.

For any motion that god Traiane had to be solitarie  
in his house, or for any disease whereby he was with-  
C.iii. dyalome

yawne into his chamber, either for any affaires that he had for the warres, neuer man came to craue justice, vnto whome he denied audience. When any person came, much troubled and furious in complaining of some friend or enimie, presently he sterte his eare with one of his fingers, saying: that he reserved the same, to heare the accused.

Traiane did never sitt to heare and determine matters of justice, but at the gate of the Emperour Titus, and in the place of Augustus: and being demanded, why more there, then elsewhere: aunswere, I place my selfe where iust Princes were wont to sitt: because in remembraunce them, I may committ no want of justice. Traiane being on horsebacke, and vpon the voyage of the seconde warres into Dacia, there came a woman and saide vnto him: Emperour Traiane, I am poore, olde, and a widow: and having but one daughter, one of thy householde seruants hath raunshed her. Traiane aunswere: poore woman, be not importune with me: for I swere vnto thee, by the immortall Gods, that being returned from the warres, I will do thee iustice: to this the olde woman did replie: and what suretie hast thou Traiane, to returne from the warres: hearing so byting an aunswere, presently he lighted on scote and deferred his departure, vntil he perfourmed iustice with the poore olde woman. Traiane helpe for custome, when any person did complaine, presently he commaunded it to be written in a booke which he had in his chamber: this the god Prince did, to the ende to aske accoupt of the Judge to whome he did remitt the same, or else for his own better remembraunce for dispatch thereof.

In some thinges, some Princes were equall vnto Traiane, and in some thinges did surmount him, bat in respecte of iustice, there was no prince like him in Rome: for that he did neuer man wrong in iustice, either at any time had affection or passion in giuing sentence. Many times Traiane did vse to say: that for Princes to be Justi-

ers, it were right necessarie to be iust in their owne persons: because subiectes and vassals be more easily perswaded to do that whiche they see, then to obey in that whiche they are commaunded. Traiane was the first that placed patrones in the Senate, that shoulde defend the poore: and the first also that gaue order, that one daye in the weeke, their causes shoulde be hearde. The Censours or Judges of Rome, did sit but two houres in the morning, and one at after noone, to heare causes: and Traiane did gaue order that they shoulde be resident thre houres before noone, and two houres at after noone, whereof Traiane was much praised, because it was occasion both to cut off suits, and to dispatch suiters. In the dayes of Traiane, none that had charge of Justice might augment his goods: but in that estate of riches or pouerlie, wherein he began to gouerne, in the same he had to conserue him selfe: and in repaynment of his trauaile, besides the rewardes which the Prince did gine him, his sonnes were married with the goods of the common wealth.

Being knownen vnto Traiane, howe immortall suites were in the Senate: he ordeined that all suites of Italic shoulde continue but one yere, and the suites of straunge countries, but halfe a yere. Traiane made diuers houses, in Rome, where the Censours and Judges might assemble to heare and administer iustice, and also made strong prisons, in such wise, that this god Prince prouided, that the god shoulde be succoured, and the euil chastised.

## CHAP. XII.

¶ Of the seconde warres that Traiane had against the Dacians.

Twentie monethes after that Traiane had overcome the Datiens, the sonne of king Decebal died in Rome, whoe remained there as pledge, for that whiche his father had sworne and promised: and Traiane was no lesse grieved with the death of that childe, then if it had bene his owne proper sonne and heire. The day that king Decebal's sonne was dead, they saye that Traiane saide: the death of this childe grieueth me not, for that it is a sorwowe to the father, but for breache of promise whiche he shal committ: for if he haue bene quiet, it was moxe for y recouering of his sonne, then for obedience unto the Senate. Not long after this newes came to Traiane, howe king Decebal was rebelled, and to resist the Romaines he repaired the ditches, furnished the castels, entred confederacie with his neighbours, renued and recovered victuals, and moxe and aboue the rest, made warre with the friendes of Romaines. The campe of Agius, which was a greate and a populous countrie, being restored by Traiane unto him from whome it was taken, king Decebal reentered, did take and occupie the same, in suche wise, that all thinges whiche Traiane had set downe and determined, was despised, and in all that king Decebal had sworne, he was forsworne. Relation of these thinges beeing made unto the Senate, king Decebal was pronounced an enimie, to publishe libertie unto all persones to give him and make him warre: bycause it was a law amongst the Romaines, that notwithstanding any did mutine or rebell agaist the Prince, vntill in Rome he were declared an enimie, they might not make warre either against him or his countrie.

Traiane once more determined in his owne persone to goe to the warres of Datia, neither woulde he take with him any Consul or Captaine that was notable in Rome, saying: that since king Decebal to him onely had broken his word: to him onely it did apperteine to reuege the iniurie. King Decebal, howe soever he had made experiance of the forces of Traiane, he woulde yet as in the

former warres abide him in the field: but retired into the most strong holdes of his kingdom, to his small profite: for Traiane had sworne before he departed from Rome, to remaine dead in Datia, or bring king Decebal either dead or aliue unto Rome. Many of the Hunnes which now are named Hungarians, & many of the Rhenes, which are y people inhabitant neare unto y riuier Rhene, were come unto y succour of king Decebal, al whiche people, when they vnderstode that Traiane came with so great a power, and so determined, they forswake king Decebal in the plaine field: notwithstanding, would he not forsake his wilful purpose, for that his condition was to beginne his attemptes with great rashnesse, and no lesse stout to prosecute them. King Decebal was then of the age of two and fourtie yeares: a Prince most certainly in body of perfect proportion, gracious in conuersation, magnifiscent in spending, valiaunt in armes, diligent and carefull in the warres, although in the same most vnsfortunate: the whiche lost both him and his countrie: bycause little auaileth diligence, where good hap is contrarie. King Decebal was a Prince most vnsfortunate, to match in contention with Traiane, whoe was a Prince most fortunate: bycause unto the one, all thinges did happen unto his owne liking: and to y other, all things contrarie to that he did desire. After ffe monethes y the warre was begun, as y one Prince did increase, & y other decrease: King Decebal retired unto a certain castel, with the most valiaunt men of his armie: where Traiane did vster & expend the vterest of his skill, deuice, & policie, to take him: and king Decebal his greatest force and fortitude to defend him selfe. By a Decebal counsel on a certaine night, they conueyed ouer the wall sixe young men, sayning to be sled, which came unto Traiane's campe, with myndes determined to kill him, either with weapō or poison. King Decebal had inuented this treaſer: for that wanting, as he wanted strength: he woulde profite and prouide for him selfe, by treason and guile. And as Traiane was of a sincere condition, and nothing malitious, had no

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suspicion of that malice and guile, but rather received the  
with great pitie, and conferred with them a great parte  
of the day, inquiring and demaunding them of the armes  
and conditions of king Decebal: and wherefoze he had  
broken his promise and othe. There wanted not in Trai-  
anes campe, that could discerne, by their countenance, ge-  
sture and silence, that those young men were traitours, or  
else thieues: and one of them being taken and examined,  
did confess, that by the counsell and commaundement of  
king Decebal, they were come to murther Traiane. And  
as king Decebal was disappointed of this treason and de-  
uice, and the traitours chastised according to their deme-  
rites, he determined another device: and the case was  
thus. Upon a fruce he craved to speake with Longinus, a  
famous capteine and much beloued of Traiane: who be-  
ing come vpon assurance, was taken and bound. Traiane  
was not a little offendred, when he understood that Lon-  
ginus was detained as prisoner, & no lesse displeased with  
Longinus, that had giuen too muche confidence to the as-  
surance of king Decebal: saying, that the person which is a  
promise breaker with men, and periured vnto the Gods,  
by no meanes might deserue credite. King Decebal gaue  
Traiane to understande, that except he might receive par-  
don for him selfe and all his knigthes, Longinus shoulde  
continue prisoner: to this Traiane made answere, that if  
he had taken Longinus in good war, he wold do any thing  
to give libertie vnto his person: but since Longinus gaue  
trust where he ought not vnto his worde, he was bounde  
to conserue his life: for that good Princes be more bound  
to mainteine that whiche they promise, then to procure  
that which they desire. Althoughe Traiane spake these  
wordes openly, he did geatly trauell to deliver Longinus,  
eyther for exchange, or else for money: but Longinus un-  
derstanding therest, dranke poysone, wherof he dyed: & sent  
word vnto Traiane, y the Gods had never to comand, &  
for the giuing of his life, they shuld capitulate w king De-  
cebal, any thing y were vile or against honour. This Ro-  
maine

## Emperour Traiane. 43

maine straige act of Longinus, gaue great admiration vnto friends and confederats, and did yeald great seare vnto the enimies: because he delivered Traiane of care and thought, and for him selfe obteined perpetuall fame. King Decebal perciuing the greatest part of his kingdome to be taken and lost, without all hope to recover the same, eyther able to defende that which remained, determined to make slaughter of him selfe, some say with poysone, some affirme that he drowned him selfe in water, other affirme, that he hanged him selfe: finally, he was found dead without any wounde: whose head Traiane commaunded to be cut off, and to be sent vnto Rome.

## CHAP. XIIII.

Of the great buildings that Traiane made  
in the kingdome of Datia.

The vnforcktunate king Decebal being dead, and all the  
whole lande in Traianes power, he made it a Province:  
which is to say, he did take away the title of kingdom, and  
the preeminencc of gouernement by Consuls: and gaue  
order to be gouerned by Pretors, and to be called a Pro-  
vince. Traiane remoued a greate number of the inha-  
bitants of Italie in that countrie: but many more he  
brought out of that countrie, to be placed in Italie: and  
this he did as a man of great iudgement: because in dis-  
placing the one, he obteined sure possession of the kingdom;  
and remouing the other, of necessitie they must liue as o-  
thers did liue in the Romaine Empire. When the cap-  
teine Longinus dyed, he left a brother yonger of age, but  
equall in force and valiauntnesse, whome Traiane made  
Pretour of Datia, and gaue vnto him for euermore the  
castle where his brother dyed: saying vnto him, of two  
causes, the one is for thyne owne vertue and valiaun-  
tresse, and the other, because thy brother Longinus did  
serue me.

Traiane

Traiane caused great search to be made for the body of his capteine Longinus: vnto whome he caused to be erected such and so sumptuous a sepulchre, that it was to be doubted, whether he would haue givien him so great riches for service if he had liued, as he spent in making that sepulchre. In all the kingdome of Dacia, there was no knight or Gentleman that had any rents, but only the king: whereof the king gaue vnto euerie man as he did serue and deserve: whereof it followed, that the kingdome being so opulent, the king obtained great riches, welth, and power. Wher Traiane came the second time into Dacia, king Decebal had great riches both of gold & siluer: not only for the great rents which he received throughout his kingdome, but that also he exacted of his subiectes great summes of mony. King Decebal being doubtfull vnto what destinies he and his kingdome were committed, determined to burie all his treasure in a riner, which he remoued out of his naturall channell, and in the greatest depth therof, he made sepulchres of stonye to burie his saide treasure: whiche being done, he returned the riner into his olde channell, which was named Sargetia: and to the end that no man shoulde discouer this secrete, he commaunded to murder all that were present at the hidyngh thereof. But to small purpose, for that a fisher, which at that tyme did fish the riner, discouered the whole matter vnto Traiane: in such a manner, that there is nothing so much hidden, that humaine countnes doth not discouer. Those treasures being brought into Traianes power, he diuided thereof amongst his armes, vnto euerie man according to the merites of his seruite: and of his owne share, the first that he commaunded was, to builde a most sumptuous temple vnto the God Jupiter: wherin he left prouided, that for him selfe and the people of Rome, yearly sacrifice to be offered. He re-edified there also the roiall house, that is to say, where the kings of Dacia did vse to be resident: whiche for the antiquitie thereof was somewhat decayed, and through continual warres, not well repayed; a worke most certeinly delect-

table to behold, and pleasant to dwell in. He repaired also many decayed bridges and mylles, vpon high wayes he renewed their broken calles in all places, he did build newe houses, and reedified others infinite that were burnt. He brake and made plaine many wayes vpon the sharpe mountaines, and rayled many newe fortes, and renued the old: finally, you might hardly trauell a league throughout all the kingdome, wherin shoulde not be found some notable worke of Traiane. Not yet all satisfied, he built vpon the riner of Danubie a bridge of stonye, which was so curious in the building, and so costly in the making, that fewe works did match it, but none did passe it. That bridge contained twentie arches in length, and every piller of one square stonye, and the arches were of the height of an hundred and fiftie foote, wrought without cymet, and the distaunce betwixt the pillers, were a hundred threescore and two foote: and the breadht of the arches alost was softe foote: and aboue all the rest, the singularitie of the mould and fashion was to be considered, and the richnesse of the stonye to be regarded: because the stonye was of such glosse, that in iudgement it deserved to be set in plate. It seemed incredible to mans iudgement, for a bridge to be made vpon that riner: because the streame was broad, deepe, in course very swifte, and aboue all the rest, on no side it might be turned out of his channell, to the end it might be drye at any tyme to lay the cymet. That building was so extreme, or to say better, so monstrosous, that it needed to make experiance of al high iudgements and capacities, and the Romaines there to shewe their strengthes, and Traiane there to spend his treasure: because in the worke there required great potencie, and in the order thereof great industrie: it is verie small that the penne can magnifie, in respect of the wonder whiche he leeth that beholdeth the same: for the better credite therof, at these dayes the pillers givē a muster vpon the fierce wakers: declaring the prude of his power, and the riches of the emperour. Traiane would with that edifice giue terror unto the living, and admiration to his posteritie,

posturie, to give manifest argument, that any thing may not be so impossible, eyther so hard, that with mans hand may not be enterprised, and with y riches of Rome might not be finished. The cause that moued Traian to build this costly bridge, so monstros, was, as they say, to the end the barbarous people on the other side Danubie, might come to fight w the Romaines, although the riuere were overfowen: and also that the Romaines that remained there, shuld not give them selues to pleasure and idlenesse, when they considered them selues to be in the eye of the enemie. The Emperour Domitian had no suche mynde and valiantnesse: whiche for feare that the barbarous people shoud come to fight with the Romaine host, comauaded the arches of that bridge to be overthowen: in such wise, that the one made a bridge to prouoke the enimie to fight, and the other did raze the same for feare of battell.

## CHAP. X I I I.

Of the seconde entring of Rome by the Emperour Traiane, and the notable thing which he did in the same.

Finishing the warrs, in giuing order for the Province, in diuiding the countries, and in yealding perfection vnto all his woxkes and buildings, Traiane was detained in Dacia moze then thre yeares: in which as he after did report, great were the travells and perils wherein he did see his person, and not small were the expences that he made of his goods. The victories that Traiane had obtained, being knowne vnto the Barbarians that did inhabite the other side of Danubie, the mightie buildings that he had made, the great rewardes that he had giuen, and the clemencie that with prisoners he had vbed, sent their ambassadours vnto Traiane: who with verie god will did set down with him a perpetual peace & amitie, & bound them selues

selues to keepe and defend for him the kingdome of Dacia. Incredibl was the loue that all those nations did bear vnto Traiane, which was well knowne when he departed from that countrie to goe vnto Rome: in that by all citiess where he did passe, and by all wayes where he did travell, so great were the teares and cries uttered by all persons, that it seemed the grounde to tremble. In respect of the great largesse and prouesse that Traiane had perourned in these Province, it was no maruell that his departing was so bewailed: because with his great benefites, he had won their hearts, and with his great and sumptuous buildings he had ennobled his people. Thinckes all friends and enimies, never prince as Traiane was so much feared in warres, either loued in peace. The cause wherby Traiane obtained so great loue, and to be so well liked; and in such especial grace with all men, was, that with his feonds he never vbed negligence, and also in readinesse and straite reckoning with his enimies, in such wise, that such as stood in his disgrace by his wordes, they had to understand therof: but vnto such as did vende to serue him, both in wordes and deede he did manifest the same. They were infiuito that praised Traiane, in that he had ben pitiful with them, but none did complaine y he had found him ingrate. Ennius Priscus, a noble & adncest Romaine demanded of y emperour Traiane, by what meanes more then all other Princes path, of all men he had obtained so spediall loue and lyking: Traiane did answere, for that naturally I delight to pardon such as do offend me, and never forget such as do serue me. And truly Traiane saide most truthe: that loue and hatred haue their beginning of thankfulness and ingratitude: because there is no enimie so fierce or cruel as he which in time past we held for a friend, being remoued by vnkindnesse. All thinges as concerning Dacia being dispatched, Traiane returned to Rome. If the triumphes of the first warrs were great, when king Decebal was ouercome, muche greater were the triumphes of the second warrs, when he was slaine.

The feastes of the triumphes of Dacia, endured an hundred and twentie dayes: in which were slaying an hundred Lions, and of other wilde beastes an hundred thousande, which is to vnderstande, Deare red and vallo, Tygres, Bulles, Leopards, Molucks, Beares, Unicorns, Boares, Panthers, Elephants, Camels, Dunces, and many other such straunge beastes taken & brought from the deserts of Africa, and the great India. The feastes of the triumphe being finished, presently Traiane commaunded to be made great sacrifices vnto the Gods, in remuneration of the great perils frō which they had deliuered him, and for the great triumphs which they had giuen him. He commaunded newe temples to be made, one vnto the wyknowne God to the Romaines, another vnto the God Mars, whiche was the God of the Dacians. He commaunded greate summes of money to be giuen to the Priestes of the temples: vnto the end they shold offer daily sacrifice vnto the Gods, for the health and prosperitie of his kingdome: and also to repaire & ennable their temples. At his coming frō Dacia, whē Traiane passed the riuver Rubicon, being detai ned an whole day for want of passage, imediately vpon his coming to Rome, he sent money & workemen to make a bridge ouer that riuver: whiche was more profitable, al though not so sumptuous as the bridge made ouer Danubie. In the marshes of Pontaine, Traiane did rayse and make a calley both long and large of stone, a wozke right profitable and necessarie, al though not a little costly: soz wherē as afōre there was but water and myre, there succ eeded houses and inhabitants. In those dayes there dyed in Rome, a certaine Physician named Suras Lycinus: in whose death Traiane did utter great sorrowe, vnto whom he commaunded his picture to be aduaunced in the place, and a riche sepulchre to be erected in the field of Mars. There was in Rome two speciall men learned in letters, and vertuous in manners: whiche were perfect friendes of Traiane, and in the common wealth much esteemed: the one was named Palma, and the other Celsus: vnto these

he

he gaue many and great offices of honour, and in the place did erect vnto them pictures of Alabaster. Traiane mads in Rome many and great Librariest: wherein he did place booke of al sciences, and of all languages, where strangers might reade, and citizens learne. Where so euer Traiane entered, were it within the Empire, or in a straunge king dome, he was alwayes curious, in causing search for sive things: that is to say, horses of god race, learned men of god inclination, newe armour, faire women, and auncient booke. All these things, or whiche soeuer of them, were neyther lost by any negligence: or left vnbought for any money. In the place named Dacia, Traiane erected a certaine most highe piller, a wozke most certaintly being of one stone right stately, and to behold, in breadth and height of great wonder. It is not written from whence that piller was brought vnto Traiane, neyther for what intent he did raise the same in that place: but as some doe gesse, he ment vpon the toppe thereof to haue placed his sepulchre: others sayde, to no other ende, but to perpetuate his memorie.

## CHAP. XV.

Containing what Traiane did in Sicyl,  
in Africa, and in  
Spaine.

Traiane being soleite with delight in the buildings of Rome, Rufus Galba P̄xetour of Africa did aduertise, that all Africa was escandalized, by meanes of cruell warres, betwēne the Numidians and the Mauritans. These newes being hearde in the Senate, they say that Traiane sayde. The warre grieueth me, but the occasion to passe into Africa doth muche please me: soz that many dayes

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dayes past I haue desired to see the famous fieldes of Carthage, where Scipio in so shorte space obtineid for him selfe immortall renoume, and Hanibal lost that in one day, whiche he had gotten in sixteene yeares in Italie. Traiane departed from Rome by the waye of Sicyl : whers he stayed al the Winter, and to auoyde idlenesse he scarse-ly leste any place in the whole Ilande personally vnuis-  
ted, vne that were then aline in Sicyl, might remember to haue seene any Romaine Prince within the same : for whiche cause Traiane founide many thinges to be repa-  
red in the walles, and muche more to be amended in their  
customes and manners. Traiane being insourmed, that  
many straunge shippes did lurke in the haven of Mecina  
to spoyle, and many pyrates barkes did haunt and retyze  
vnto the same, to execute their robberies, in his owne per-  
son went to the biewe thereof, and at his owne coste com-  
maunded thre bulwarkes to be made, at the mouth of  
the haven: whiche eyther for want of diligence of the one  
part, or too muche malice on the other side, the case was  
thus: that before it coulde be finished, the pyrates had o-  
uertrowne it. Amongest the Panormitains, whiche be  
they of Palermo, and the inhabitaunts of Mecina, of olde  
time had continued great contention; betwix whome  
Traiane not without great trauell, determined & finished  
all quarelles and debates: and brought to passe, that from  
thence forth they continued in great friendshipp. To  
the ende to perpetuate that peace, and to roote vp all passi-  
ons and unkindnesse of that Ilande by the rootes: to the  
principall beth of the one and the other, Traiane gaue pen-  
sions out of his owne house, and dailly did cause them to  
eate at his owne table. In Palermo, Mecina, and Tata-  
nia, Traiane commaunded severall temples to be made:  
and the Gods to whom those temples shoulde be dedicated,  
the inhabitaunts to make choyce. Traiane reuined in Sicyl  
the kinde and race of god horses, reedified the decayed  
walles, melted all counterfet money, erected newe castles,  
builded stately temples, set peace and established quiet-  
nesse.

nesse amoungest the mutined cities, & gaue many great re-  
warves: althoough no liberties vnto the people. Traiane  
being demanded why he gaue no liberties vnto the Sicili-  
ans, as he gaue vnto other kingdomes: answered, by  
cause seruitude doth conserue them, and libertie destroy  
them.

The Winter being past, and the Spying come, Traiane  
passed into Africa, and did lande in the haven, where  
olde Carthage in time past was situate: & not finding one  
stone vpon an other, to gaine testimonie of the foundation  
thereof: they say y he sayd. It grieueth me that Carthage  
so greatly resisted Rome: but it more foreshinketh me,  
that Rome shoulde not be satisfied, but with the totall de-  
struction therof. In the place where olde Carthage stode,  
Traiane did bulde a castell more faire then strong, and e-  
rected therein two counterfets. the one of Hambal the  
Carthaginian, and the other of Scipio the African; but pre-  
sently vpon his departing from that countrie, the pyrates  
layde it flat on the earth. Incontinent after Traiane  
had arrived into Africa, there grewe a generall pestilence  
throughout the same, for whiche cause he coulde neyther  
goe to see that he desired, eyther perfourme that whiche he  
determined. And as the pestilence grewe so cruel, Traiane  
was constrained to retyze vnto y port of Bona, which was  
somwhat more sound: and from thence he sent for the prin-  
cipals of the Numidians, and also of the Mauritans: who  
incontinently in presence of Traiane, were made friends,  
and leſt and committed into his onely handes all their af-  
fares. Amongest all the Princes of this worlde, Traiane  
obtaineid this excellencie: That neuer man came into his  
presence, that denied him that, whiche he craued, eyther  
disobeyed him wherein he commaunded: bycause in his  
commaundementes hee was verie wise, and in requesting  
verie humble. Traiane thought to haue stayed in Africa,  
more then two yeares, and yet remained there but four  
monethes: and as he sayde afterwardes, that if the pesti-  
lence had givien no impement, he woulde of hym self haue  
left

## The life of the

lest as great memoriall in Africa, as he did in Dacia. Trajan tooke sayle at the porche of Bona, and came by the streightes to Cadix, whiche is nowe called Calize, a citie of Spaine: wherein he had beene bred, and from whence being a verie young man he had departed. Trajan gave many Privileges vnto the Gauditains, as vnto his naturall frinedes: amongst whiche, two were most notable: namely, that they shoulde be citizens of Rome, and paye no custome or tribute, for any merchandize whiche they transported. Trajan did builde in Calize a most sumptuous temple vnto God Genius: whiche the Romaines helde for the God of byrthe. He made also a calsey of stone along the shoare: but it was not all finished, when by the furie of the water it was all destroyed. He intended to repayre the pillers of Hercules, whiche by their great antiquitie were then consumed: and being persuaded by certaine persons to erect others in his owne name, to the ende that in time to come, they might be called the pillers of Trajan, and not of Hercules: he answered: that whiche I ought to doe is, that as Hercules came from Gracia vnto Spaine, to obtaine honour: so ought I from Spaine to goe into Gracia to winne fame.

Trajan commaunded the bridge of Alcantara in Spaine to be made, a worke that lasteth to this our age: wherein concurreth statelinesse, subtilitie, cunning, and profite. He made another bridge vpon the riuere Tejo, neare vnto Ystobriga, and is the bridge that nowe is broken, at the bankes of Halconeta. Trajan commaunded the way named Publius to be continued, being the waye that nowe is called in Spaine, the Calsey, that goeth from Ciuitate vnto Salamanca: and is named the Publian waye, whiche is to say, the waye of Publius: for that the firste that beganne the same, was Publius Fabatus, one of the Consuls that fought with Viriato. That whiche Trajan made of that calsey, little more or lesse, was from the Caſar of Casares, vntil within a league of the vents of Capara,

whiche

## Emperour Trajane.

whiche be lodging or bayting places: and so to be vnderſtode, not because the histories do clearely report thereof, but by the pillers whiche vpon that waye be erected: whiche say in their grauen letters, that they were placed there in the dayes of Trajane. And he that will be curious to gos and see, (as I many times haue gone to see and reade, and also to measure:) shal finde within the sayde boundes, the name of no other Prince but of Trajane: and before the Caſar whiche is a towne, neyther after the vents of Capara, whiche be lodgings, vpon no piller shal they finde Trajane written. The cause wherefore the Consul Publius Fabatus did raise that calsey, was to make a diuision betwixt the Vetical Province, whiche is Andaluzia, and the Province of Lusitania, whiche is Portugal: diuiding from Ciuitate to Salamanca, all on the left hand of the calsey in olde time being Lusitania, and all on the right hande Andaluzia. Betwixt the Proconsul of Betica, and the Proconsul of Lusitania, there did arise great contention, vpon the diuision of their boundes: wherevpon this large and sumptuous calsey was erected and perſourmed. Upon the riuer of Gadiana, Trajan commaunded a long bridge to be made, on the middest whereof he built a market place for the merchants of both people, to trade and concurre. This bridge appertaineth to the citie of Merida, whiche at this day appeareth verie large, and had in the middest thereof a diuision, stretching vppe into the riuer, the hurle of a stone, whiche on both sides came backe vnto the bridge, continued, directed, and sustaineſ by walles, in the compasse wherof was the place or market. When the Greeks did first giue foundation vnto Merida, they made therein two streates, and thorter Gadiana betwixt them both, and where Merida nowe standeth, was the stronger, and that on the other side the riuer was more delectable: in ſuche wiſe, that they helde the one to retayne vnto in time of warre: and the other to delight in time of peace. As the Consul Publius Fabatus made diuision of Portugal and Andaluzia, the streate on the other ſide the

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riuer

riverfell to the Province of Lusitania, and the streates which is nowe Merida, fell to the Province of Betica, and fro thenceforth there was alwayes betwixt the great contention: in such wise, that they ouerthrew the bridge that stoode in the middle of the citie, and the coyne that in times past had ben currant, they made of no value betwixt them. This god Emperour Traiane, meaning to cut off these so old enimities, made in y middest of the citie, vpon Gadiana the bridge that nowe is: and to remoue all quarels for walking in eache others streates, he made a market place in the middest of the bridge, where they shoulde congregate, talk, and traffike of their merchandize. The prosperitie of Merida continued, vntill the time that the Gothes entered Spaine: whiche holding warre with the Silingues, being in those dayes Lordes of Andaluzia: fortifying them selues in Merida, by the Gothes were there overcome, and those generous, sumptuous, and auncient buildings, thre wen flat vpon the earth. In no citie of all Europe, did sooyntly concurre fourre buildings, suche as Meridahelde: that is to say, a stately college, certaine condutes and arches for conueyance of waters, a temple of Diana, and a bridge that contained a great and large market place: which continued in building many yeares, and perished in oneday.

## C H A P T E R X V I.

Howe Traiane did passe out of Spaine, into Asia, and the manner that he vised in the warres.

After that Traiane had visited in Spaine the Province of Betica, of Lusitania, and the Province of Carpentina, he came through the province of Tarragona: in which yere in the whole land, there was great scarcitie of bread: wherby Traiane was constrained to shorten his tourney, and to hasten his imbarkeage: in such manner, that the pe-  
silence draue him out of Africa, and higer out of Spaine.

Traiane

Traiane departed Spaine, with determination not to stay, vntill his arriwall in Asia, and there to take the way vnto y greater Armenia: would never take land in any porce of Italie, but passing like pylgrimes, made no stay, but onely to renue their victuals. All those whiche trauelled with Traiane, were astouied to see him passe the portes of his kingdomes, as if it had bene the lande of enimies. Traiane had a capteine named Valerius Gracchus: vnto whom the Emperour did beare speciall affection, and did esteeme hym as a kinsman: vnto this man they say, that Traiane sayd, in great secrecie. If I had found warres in Sicyl, Africa, or Spaine, as I found in Datis, whereby I might haue obtained some victorie, I woulde not haue passed without landing in Italie: but since it is thus come to passe, I sweare by the immortall Gods, to set no foote a land in Italie, vntill I deserue to enter triumphing into Rome. High & verie high were shiche wordes, worthy and right worthy to be written in the hearts of Princes: to beholde this Prince that banished hym selfe from the delights of his owne proper kingdomes, to seeke fame in straunge landes. With great determination Traiane did enterprise y voyage into Armenia, wherin he entered, making cruell war: taking occasion of y king of Armenians, which refused to confesse to haue received his kingdome from the Romaines, but of the king of Parthians. Traiane not satisfied to make war upon the Armenians, but also entered the landes and territories of the Parthians: because in the most principall Province of Trapa, he detained his armie more then thre monethes. Parthurus king of Parthians, a man of great yeares, beholding the warres offered him by the enimie, determined to present peace vnto Traiane, who being demanded of his Parthians why he discouered so great fears within his owne kingdome: he made answere. If the wars were but armie against armie, the Parthians woulde not feare the Romaines: but we fight with the Emperour Traiane: vnto whom the Gods haue givens so great fortune, that it farre exceedeth our great power.

D.iii.

Uith.

Without consuming of many dayes, or employing of many armes, the Parthians made peace with Traiane, and the Armenians did yeald them selues as ouercome. From Parthimisires king of Armenians, the kingdome was remoued, and both crowne and kingdome Traiane gaue with his owne handes vnto his sonne: and this he did, by cause king Parthimisires had sayd: that of the Parthians, and not of the Romaines, he was crowned king: in such wise, that the god Traiane in removing the kingdome frō the father, did execute iustice: and in giuing it to the sonne, gaue a shewe of his clemencie. Traiane was not satisfied, that the Parthians shoulde haue peace, and become tributaries vnto the Romaines, but that king Parthurus by the handes of Traiane, must be crowned: and so it came to passe, that kneeling vpon his knes, he received his crowne, killed his hande, and consented to pay tribute. Traiane did marche through all those Provinces and kingdomes, and vnto the kinges that did yeald obedience, benignly he did intreate them, and in their kingdomes did confirme them: and vnto suche as did vse resistance, vnto others he gaue their kingdomes, and sent them prisoners vnto Rome. Traiane helde for custome, that in all principall cities of kingdomes or Provinces: that he had taken by force of armes, he did commannde to erect a most strong castle, wherewnto his armes did repayre: and a right sumptuous temple, wherein to worshipe the Goddes of Rome. As Traiane did passe and travell, visite and conquerre all the thre partes of the wold, that is to say, Asia, Africa, and Europa: in all whiche countries he did travell to leue of hem selfe imido tall fame: the tellmonie wherof maketh it credibile, that all the Romaine princes ioyntly haue not erected so many buildings, as Traiane onely did performe. Traiane did leade his armes verie well furnished, ordered, corrected, and also in great subiection: & this proceeded, that alwaies in his own person he did accompany the same, and helde them both paide and rewarded: for as he did vse to say, The boast that of his owne proper

Prince

Prince is not visited and paide, is sildome or neuer in subiection. When Traiane was in the warres, in his feeding and apparel, he did rather seeme a companion, then an emperour of Rome: for that sildome he went unarmed, and many were the dayes wherein he did eate standing. Having a bodie somewhat drie and of great sinowes, he was moste patient in tedious trauaile of warres: that is to say, in suffering hunger, colde, thirste, wette, snowe, heate, & perils, whiche he refusid not as a cowarde, but sought the out as one of a valiant mind: for y in all hazardes & perils, he neuer saide vnto his captaines, go; but, let vs go: do: but, let vs do: fight: but, let vs fight. He gaue in charge vnto his armes, not to attempt to burne houses, set fire in corne, ouerthrowe milles, or cut downe orchardes: affirming, that these thinges are to be obteined, but not destroyed. Whē Traiane would take any citie, he did not imploye his force in any thing moze, then to depzine the enimies of their warters. In the campes of his enimies, he did cause to be sowne false newes: that is to wite: that if he had victuals, to saye, that he wanted: that if he had money, to saye, it was spent: that if he had muche people, that they were gone: that if he wold shourtly give an assaunt, to saye, that he wold departe: and by this meanes he brought his enimies into negligence, while in meane time he did sortisse his armes. Traiane was of greate liberalitie vnto such as discouered the enimies secretes: and ioyntly therewith, of no lesse providence, for the entering of spies within his campes. When he helde warre with any citie or countrye, he did not permitt his souldiers to spoile the borders thereto: for he helde opinion, that sinal profit might rise to spoile the poore villages: and greate hurte and offence vnto the armes, by want of victuals. Unto a captaine that tolke a ploughman, & kilde his two Oren at the plough, Traiane commaunded to be banished with great ignominie, and to give the ploughman his horse, his armour, and all his wages that was due. For no satal: Traiane commaunded any man to be slain in the

D.b.

warres

warres, but ouely him that slept being of the watche, or the captaine that ranne awaie out of the battell, or did rauishe any woman. Traiane was so pitifull, that vsually he did pardon all negligences, especially in the warres, except two faultes which he did never remitt, that is to say, such as blasphemed the Gods, and rauished women. Traiane was verie diligent and careful in visiting his armes, and to keepe a reckoning of all his armes: and this he did to the ende that no vagabonds shoulde wander amongest them: in such wise, that no man went to the warres, that did not beare armour, and go to the battell. Traiane help in his armes maisters of all exercizes to teache the young men the arte of knighthood, that is to saye, howe to playe at the swornde, to shoothe in the crossebowe, to runne an hoyse, to scale a wall, to mine a castell, to wrastle with the enemie, to swimme ouer a riuier: finally, the greatest of Traianes exercise was, to apgument and nobilitate his armie and knighthood.

## CHAP. XVII.

¶ Of the honourable titles that the Romaines sent vnto Traiane, and of the earthquake of Antioche.

THE Romaines did much desire, that when Traiane did saile from Spaine into Asia, that he shoulde haue landed in Italie: but when they vnderstoode of the great victoies and prosperities which he had received in Asia, great was the ioye and spozes which were done at Rome. In times past, some Princes overcame the Parthians, and others of them were overcome: but never prince, as Traiane, did make them by feare yeald vp their kingdome: and that of his owne will, knelling vppon his knees, would by a Romaine Prince be crowned. The Parthians were a people so vntameable to be subdued, that they saide of the selues: the Gods could absolutely confound them: but impossible for men to overcome them. Many dayes they were debating in the Senate vpon determination, of the manner of

thankes which they shoulde write vnto Traiane, and what ensignes of honour they shoulde sende vnto him: since by his vertue they were all honoured, and by his valiant actes, feared throughout the worlde. All the Senate came to consent to one aduice, the which in dede was very generous and noble: that is to vnderstande, that all maner of coyne shoulde be melted within the Empire, and made a certeine newe money in the name of Traiane: wherein Traiane was ingratien, and in the compasse thereof, these letters were witten: Imp. Vlp. Tr. Opti. Da. Parth. P. P. Tr. P. Con. 2. Sem. Aug. Which is to saye: this is the Emperour Vlpius Traianus, which was verie good, and right fortunate: he ouercame the Parthians, triumphed ouer the Datians, father of the countrie, tribune of the people, two times Consul, his memorie shalbe immortal. Great was the ioy of Traiane received, when he sawe that money which the Senate had made: and when he read the writing therin conteined: but of all the titles whiche they gaue him, he gloriéd in none so much as to intitle him Imperator optimus, that is to saye: best Emperour: for he affirmed, ¶ all other titles he had obteined by armes, but this other with vertues. For defence of colde, & prouision of victuals, Traiane retired in Winter vnto the citie and prouince of Antioche: where whiles he remained, suche & so fierce an earthquake happened, as never in the worlde past was euer heard or seene. The chaunce was thus, that on the 22. day of October, before the breake of the day, suddenly there rose such winde & storme so extreme & impoztune, that puld vp treés, beate downe birdes, threw downe tiles, & shooke the houses: forthwith it began to lighten and thunder, & did so sparcle and flame, that being night, it seemed to be broade daye. After the thunder and lightening, presently did followe so terrible tempestes and flashinges of fire, which with their furious violence, brake downe stately houses, set hilles on fire, kild men at the soudeine: finally, it saimed not, but that all the world was on fire, and that the earth did open. And if the earth were afflicted,

afflicted, no doubt but the sea was cruelly tormented: for the waters began to swell, the windes to alter, fishes to be troubled, the ayre to be darkened: and that which seemed moste terrible, the waters did so yell, roare, braye, and rage, as if they had bene wilde, fierce, & moste cruell. beasts: presently vpon the souden there followed, suche, and so straunge a heate, that it constrained al men to give aire unto their bcastles, vnbuckle their gyrdle, to thowen off their cloathes, to mount into galleries, their bodies to sweate: and that which was worste of all, that if they went forth into the ayre, the violence thereof did ouerthrowe them: if into the sea, the rage therof did dwyne them. As the windes did vse their furie so straunge or never seene, and the earth so parched and dryed by the drought of the summer, they rased so sharpe a dust, that the ayre seemed to be farsed or compound with dust. The matter was marueilous monstruous, and terrible to behold: the ayre so thicke with dust, the seas to yell and roare, the windes in so furious combat, that one might not see another, that they durst not open their mouthes, neither drawe breath at their nostrils: for so greate was the dust that they did swallowe and receiue into their bodies, that soudainly they fell downe dead vpon the earth. All these calamities, and marueilous wonders, were no doubt verie fearefull: but vniuersally not so daungerous: for although many did perishe, many also were saued. Then presently began the earth to quake so strangely and vniusally, that olde houses did fall, walles did open, towers did cleave, the monuments did rent, and stones did encounter eche other. In some places, the houses were verily ouerthowne, in other partes halfe thowne downe, in other places walles opened, in other some places trees pulde vp by the rotes, domesticall beastes slaine: finally, there was no straete in the wholle citie, wherein the earth quake had not vied his violence. If such destruction was executed amongst trees and stones: howe great was the calamitie that passed amongst men: the case was right lamens

lamentable to heare men crye, women scryche, children waille, beastes howle and braye, one crossing and encouering another, some dead, some with broken heades, some with broken legges, some lamed in their armes, and some striken cleane throught the bodie. At suche time as these thinges did chaunce, great numbers of people were come from all the partes of the wold unto Antioche, some to see Traiane, some to aske justice, some that went to the warres, some brought prisoners, and others that were straungers: and in so great a multitude, there was no man that escaped either deadly wounded or hurte, except one woman and one slane. Vpon that night of the earth quake, Traiane was lodged in a place of pleasure without the citie, who leaping out at a windowe, not with such sped, but that he was hurte on his right arme not able to saye of the cause, whether it proceeded of timber, tile, or stone. Traiane was so terrifled with the earthquake, that all the time in which he staid at Antioche, he wauld not remaine in any house, but in the fieldes in a tent, wherin he did eate and sleepe. Many dayes after these thinges did passe, certeine persons walking to behold the salne houses, heard the voice of a woman: and digging very deepe, they found a woman and her childe, that vnder the houldwelle of a bawt were escaped: a thing admirable, how the mother without meat so long time, might haue milke to nourishe her childe. In reedifying of other houses, they found a dead woman, and a live childe sucking the brest. At the time of the earthquake in Antioch, the mountaine Caucasus did so open and tremble, that all the cities adioyning, doubted to be ouerwhelmed with the fal therof. Running rivers of immortall memozie became drye. Springs never seene or heard of, did flow & remaine, and olde fountaines for euermore dryed vp: many hilles made plaine, and many vallies made eu'en. Finally, there was no house in Antioche, or within the compasse of the territorie therof, that was not totally destroyed, or chan ged after a maner into some other order or fashion.

## CHAP. XVIII.

¶ Howe Traiane subdued Assyria, and what he did in Babylon.

**N**owe when Summer was come, Traiane prepared to departe the confines of Antioche towardes the iourney of Assyria, to conquer that countrie, if that by peace they did not yeald the same: and being arrived at the great riuier Euphrates, he found the shippes burnt, all the bridges broken, and all the Barbarians in armes, with a minde to dye, or to defend their countries. The Barbarians understanding of Traianes approche, made an utter spoile of all their woods, to remoue all meanes of remouing their nauie, or to reedifie bridges. Traiane had intelligence that farre from thence, certeine shippes vpon the hill Nisbin were a making, whiche presently he sent for, and brought in cartes, and in very shorte space, a floote vpon Euphrates rigged and armed. The riuier Euphrates being passed, Traiane founde another riuier named Pessin, ioyning vnto the hill Cardius, which also was of great strength, and almost impassable, but Traiane brake vp his shippes, and once more by land did carrie the same vnto that riuier: wherin he fought with the Barbarians that defended their bankes. And as they after reported, utterly determined rather to dye, then to submitt themselves to subiection. But that they conceiued, Traiane to be no mortall man, whiche would fight against them, but some of the immortall Gods that came to destroye them: moued thereunto, in beholding Traianes readie carriage for shippes by lande, as they had by sea. That countrie was named the province of Adiabena: whiche being all ouerrunne & brought vnder subiection: he passed vnto Arbela, and vnto Anguina, two most epulent provinces, in whose fieldes, in

the

## Emperour Traiane. 63

the olde worldes past, the greate king Darius, was overcome of Alexander Magnus. Traiane spent all that Summer in conquering those prouinces: whiche although they differ in names, yet differ not in seignorie, because they be alwayes annered vnto the kingdome Assyria, whiche the Barbarians changing the S. into T. do call the same Attysria. And nowe when Summer began to decline, Traiane determined to winter at Babylon: in all which way he neither found enimies that did resist him, either friends to accompany him: because those deserkes be so solitarie and drye, that hardly vuite beastes be found in the same. Before Traiane did enter Babylon, he would first personally see the lake of Bytamin: the water wherof hath this propertie, that bricke, tile, sande, lime, or chalkie, that is tempered therewith, maketh a cyment thereof so harde, and strong, that yeldeth not vnto stone or yron. With this water the tiles and bricke were made, and all other maister tempered, that did erect all y walles of Babylon. Also Traiane went to see the caue wher y water came soaking forth, wherout proceeded a stench so pestilential, that kilde all cattel that came neare thereunto, and all birdes that did sye ouer the same. Men that passe that waye dare not venter the viewe thereof, muche lesse to apprech the smell, except the Cuniches that be gelded, which scare not to beholde, neither are indaugered by the sauour. Traiane might not be satisfied with the view and contemplation of Babylon, muche delighting to viewe the infinite antiquities therein contained, and had thereof great compassion: and also saide it many times, howe many and howe renowned Princes had consumed there their treasure, and employed the chiefe part of their life, to perpetuate their fame, whiche were nowe forgotten, and their stately bnyldings utterly ruined and falne downe. Traiane attempted a certeine worke within that lande which did not only excell all that he had done in Rome, Italie, Sicil, Datia, and Spaine, but also all that Ninus, Belus, Semiramis, and Alexander had made in Babylon.

Traiane

Traiane was of so high thoughtes, and so singular in his conceites, which he attempted, and in his buyldings which he erected, he was not satisfied that others should think him equall with Princes past: but iudge and confesse him to be singular amongst the rest. The case was thus: he opened the mother of the riuers Tygris, and of the riuer Euphrates: made from the one to the other, a great & a deepe chanell, to unite them both into one stremme: a thing for the present easie to be witten, but at that time, verie terrible to beholde: because the chanell that Traiane caused to be made from the one riuer to the other, was so high, so large, and so deepe, that verie greate shippes might turne, saile, and ride at anchor. Vpon that chanell Traiane did builde a moste stately and a right lofie bzdge, a strong castell, a riche and sumptuous palace, and certeine gardenes and orchardes most pleasant, and on either side the riuer, he built faire houses to dwell in, and stoe houses for merchants: and to place there his perpetuall memorie, did name the same Traianicall Babylon. This buylding endured not long, and the cause thereof proceded, that the riuer Euphrates had his channell more high then the riuer Tygris, whereby Tygris did increase, and Euphrates diminish: and the Babylonians doubted the one for want of water to be lost: and the other with the furie of the water to be destroyed. From Babylon, Traiane departed to the citie Tesiphont being the head of that province: which although some dayes it stode in defence of it selfe, in the ende it came to be yealded: and there it is said, that Traiane found so greate summes of money, that he had sufficient to pay his armes, to raise vp newes buyldings, and also to furnishe his treasurie. Greate were the newes that daily came to the Senate, of the marueilous victories which Traiane obtained throughout the worlde, and holme beyond all Princes past, he had augmented the Empire of Rome.

The inhabitants of Tesiphont were ignorant to sacrifice unto the Gods, or to obserue feastes and holy dayes: where-

Whereupon Traiane commaunded to erect a temple vnto the greate God Jupiter, and gaue them instruction, what feastes they shoulde obserue, and howe they shoulde sacrifice vnto their Gods.

## CHAP. XIX.

¶ Howe Traiane, after great trauaile to passe into the Indiaes, was constreined to retire.

All these countries being overcome and left in order, Traiane determined to saile by the read Sea, which is very great, and runneth from the Ocean of the Indiaes, vnto Arabia, and is otherwise named the Sea Eritrean, in memorie of king Eritreus which in old time reigned there. The riuer Tygris in the discourse of his currant maketh an Ilande, conteining xxx. miles in bздeth, and lx. in length: wherein reigned Athabilus a Prince both proude and warlike: whome without armes Traiane brought vnder his Empire. The ayre of those Seas being different in nature from other Seas, and being then in the greatest heates of Summer, Traiane in that nauigation passed much trauaile and perill: and being persuaded by certeine to forslake the Sea, and take the land, aunswered: the vicious go from hence to Rome to seeke delight, and the vertuous come from Rome hither to seeke trauailes: because our predecessors in exchaunge of great trauailes, received great and gloriouse triumphes: wherefore I will never cease fighting for feare, either nauigation for perill or daunger. At the mouth of those Seas, there was a people named Sipassinos, so called of certeine fieldes whiche they helpe: whether from manye partes they brought their heards to feede: these Sipassinos were subiects to king Athabilus: who vnderstanding of his subission vnto the Romanes, toynly with great god will came forth to receive Traiane, passing along those Ilandes, and all the ci-

ties alonge the sea coast on either side being subdued, Traiane entred the Ocean Sea, and therewith understanding the wzacke & decaye of his shippes, the darkenesse of the ayre, & his pylots to want experiance vpon those coasts, he arriued to land to reuewe his nauie. Traiane was informed, y those Seas were of such condition, that they endured not shippes made of straunge timber, but of wood of the Indies, for otherwise they did consume, or at times dwonne them. The sorrowe of Traianes harte, might not be expressed, for that, to passe into the great Indies, he had no preparation, because of y insufficiēce of his own shippes, and want of timber of the Indies. And when Traiane saw his voyage to be frustrate & without remedie, they saye, y he saide with a great sigh: Of all Princes past, onely vnto Alexander I giue the preeminence, for that he passed into the Indies: but if fortunie had not hindered mee: him, as others, I woulde haue excelled: for I had a wil not onely to conquer all the Indies, but therin to haue erected a newe Rome. All the time that Traiane stayed there, he gaue him selfe particularly to understand of the state of all things in the greate Indiaes: that is to say, what Gods they worshipped, what temples they helde, what kinges they obeyed, what dyet they vse, what garmentes they did weare, howe they did fight, in what cities they did inhabite, wherein they were exercised: and howe muche the greater things they did report: so muche the more, the sorrowe of his heart did augment. From thence Traiane set certeine messengers vnto Rome, with great riches for the treasurie: Also a memoriall of all the provinces, kingdomes, Ilandes, nations, and people that he had subdued and take, and brought vnder the Empire of Rome. Great joy was received in Rome vpon the manifestation of these newes: no lesse wundersfull vnto the Romaines, to read so many, and so variable people to be overcome by Traiane: because it was affirmed amongst them in the Senate of Rome, that none had scene them, either as muche as to haue heard of them. Presently they erected in Rome vnto Traiane an arche triumphant, wherin was grauen the names

names of the kingdomes that Traiane had subdued, and y principall provinces that he had taken: for if they shuld haue placed them all, conseruable vnto his memoriall, they shoulde want marble to be wrought, and workemen to graue the same. When Traiane might not passe into the great Indies, he came vnto the house of Alexander the greate, where (as it was saide,) he died: and there did buyld all that by antiquitie was decayed & faine downe: & also did adde other newe buyldings therunto, & offered riche sacrifices vnto the Gods, in memorie & reverencie of Alexander. Traiane sayling on the Ocean Sea towardes the Indians, & the Telsiponts, supposing that he shoulde neuer retorne into that province, determined to rebel, and therwith slewe all the Romaines, that remained in garrison, & brought all their countrie in armes. Against these & other people that rebelled, Traiane sent Maximinus and Lucius wth an armie of greaſe poiver, who fought most unſortunatly: for that y one fled, & the other died. He that escaped was Lucius, who to reſourcē all faulter past, took the citie of Nisibing, Edessa, which he destroyed & burnt wth fire, wherof Traiane was not a little offendē: because in the warres, he would not any spoile to be made by fire. Eritius Clarus, & Alexander Seuerus, two Romaine Prefours, made their entrie by Seleucia, whiche they totally did sacke & destroy: being aduertised y Traiane was dwonne at Sea, they rebelled & slewe y Romaine magistrates. Traiane doubting the rebellion of the Parthians, entred their countrie, hauing intelligence of the death of Pardhurus their king, & the alteration of their kingdom. Traiane commaunded all the principals of Parthia to appeare before him, who asſembled in the fields of Telsipont, where Traiane being aduanced did aduertise the of his determina nation, which if they did admitt & consent vnto, they might safelē hold him for a pitifull father: and otherwise they shoulde finde him a most cruell enimie.

The Parthians ioyfully aunſwered, that their desirs was much more to hold him as a father, then an enimie: and did yelo them selues both to believe, and to obey him:

making their humble suite, to give them no king, except he were a native of their kingdome: for that a straunger should want both loue and obedience. Presently Traiane tooke a crowne in his handes and set it vppon the heade of Persiapanate, declaring him to be their king and lord, of which provision they helde them selues marueilously wel pleased, for that he was not onely of their kingdome, and well knownen vnto them, but also bothe vertuous and warlike.

## CHAP. XX.

¶ Howe Traiane comming from Asia to triumph  
in Rome, was staide by death  
in Sicyl.

THE land of Parthians being stayed & pacified, Traiane was in disposition to go to Rome: partly to rest, and to cease from trauaille, and chiesely to triumph ouer so many nations and kingdomes: but being aduertised of the rebellion of the Agarens, and that the Romaine pretours were fledd: presently Traiane departed vnto the lande of Agarens, which is in Arabia, hauing a citie as principall of their province, very little, but marueilous strong: the destinie whereof was such, that being sieged by infinite Princes, was never taken or overcome. For defence of that citie, the nature and situation of the countrie did not a little helpe: for that the assailants had neither wood or timber to aduaunce their engins, either water or forrage, for relieve of them selues or cattel: & the same vnto straungers not vsed thereunto, did rather seeme to burne, then to give light. Traiane commaunded an assault to be gien vnto the citie: the most valiant captaines being mounted vpon the wall, at an instant some were slaine, and some overthowen. Traiane disguised, and in disposition to helde the citie, was of the enemies both knownen, woun-  
dynge, and his Squire slaine.

The

The Agarens beeing demaunded, if at that instant they had notice of the Emperours person: they answe red, that his grauitie, and the maiestie of his presence did discouer his estate. Traiane being at that siege, there arose terrible lightening and thunder, which in that countrie was never seene: and besides, there descended vppon the Romaine campe flies so many & impoztune, that both their meate and drinke, and their owne persons, were continually couered with the same. Traiane considering the citie to be impregnable, did retire his armie. They saye, that he said, at his retratte: Since the Agarens, with mine armies, either my wordes, be neither subdued or persuaded: the destinies haue reserved this triumph for some other Prince in the world to come. In the prouince of Cyrene, Traiane had a greate armie both of Greekes as of Romaines: and the pretor of those armies was a certeine Romaine named Andreas, against whome the Jewes of those partes did rebell, and slew both captaine, Greekes, and Romaines. The Iewes were not onely contented to haue slaine the Romaines, but also brought the dead bodies vnto the shambles, and there did quarter, cut in pieces, and solde by weight: & with no lesse appetite did eate that humaine fleshe, then if it had beene hennes and felants. Abiding crueltie vppon crueltie, they brought forth certeine Romaines whiche they had in prison, and did wage one with another, a denere, or a point, to strike off the head of a Romaine at a blowe. Another thing, not moze vile then horriblie, the Iewes committed vppon those miserable Romaines, that is, they fleyed them quicke, and tanned their skinnes for leather: and further, with greatest disgrace, did cut off their most shamefast partes, and plaide and tost them as a ball in the market place. As the Iewes left no Romaine vnslaine, so left they no crueltie or kind of death that they did not experiment: and in this matter, we haue no lesse to marueile, at h̄ hearts of the one to execute, then of the patience of the other to suffer. That which was don by h̄ Iewes of Cyrene, was executed by h̄ Iewes of Aegypt,

C. iii.

and

## The life of the

and of the Islands of Cypres, who slew all the Romaines within their common wealthes: which slaughter was no lesse, then 500000 Greekes and Romaines. When these sorrowfull newes came unto Traiane, he was very sick: but notwithstanding prohibited what was conuenient for so desperate a case: and presently sent Lucius into Cyrene, Marcus into Cypres, and Seuerus into Aegypt: who committed so great spoiles among the people, and executed so cruell iustice vpon the inhabitants, that if the dead had bene living, they would haue yelded them selues for sufficiently reueged. Elius Adrianus was captaine unto Traiane for the guarde of Syria, and hearing what had passed in this matter, soudainly he descended into Iuric, and did execute therein a greate slaughter: and they of Cypres, receiving warning by this great treason, did ordene that no lewe shoulde dare to inhabite, or passe into that kingdome: and that if tempest shoulde bring them by chunce into that Iland, to haue no redemption therof, but by the losse of their heade.

Traiane naturally was alwayes of greate health: but in the trauels of so many provinces, following of so many warres, sapling vpon so many Seas, and enduring so many woundes, the grieve or disease of the piles did not alittle vexe him. But the case was thus; that from the daye that Traiane might not passe into the Indies, they never sawe health in his person, or joy in his face. Through the cause or disease of the piles, at chaunge of weather, Traiane had a flurc of bloude, which for his health was very profitable. Either by the colde which he had passed, or angers which in him selfe he suffered, or greate age, where with he was laden: there increased vnto the god Prince, a Pasma, or hummelle of his arme, and his purgation by flurc of bloud was stopped. Joyning vnto the citie of Seluca, there were certeine famous bathes, whereunto sickle people of all partes did concurre, whether Traiane did cause him selfe to be remoued, to make proesse for recovery of his health. And as experiance did after declare, those

## Emperour Traiane. 71

those bathes did not profite, but hinder: soz being weake, consumed, and spent, although he had force to bathe, he had no strength to streate. Powe when Traiane sawe him selfe without hope of life, he wrote a letter vnto the Senate of Rome, commending the state of his house kn. to Lucius, and the affaires of the warres vnto Elius Adrianius. He dyed in the citie of Seluca which is in the prouince of Sicil, which from thence forth was named Traginopolis, in the age of 63. yeres, and in the reigne of his Empire 21. yeres, 6. monethes, and 15. dayes.

## ¶ The life of the Emperour Adrian:

Compiled by sir Anthonic of Gueuara,  
Byshoppe of Mondonnedo, Preacher, Chro-  
nicler, and Counsellor vnto the Em-  
perour Charles the fift.

. (.)

## CHAP. I.

¶ Of the linage from whence Adrian descended,  
and of the place and countrie where  
he was bred and nou-  
rished.



¶ The greate Emperour Traiane being dead, Adrian succeeded in the Empire: who was seruaunt, friend, and cousin of the saide Traiane. The beginning and linage of Adrian by the fathers side, was of Italie, boorne in a citie named Hadra; and of the mothers side a Spaniard, boorne at Cades, whiche nowe is named Calize, a citie of Andoloizia.

## The life of the

His fathers name was Elius Adrianus maried unto a woman of Spaine named Domitia Paulina, a woman sufficiente wise and faire, borne in the citie of Calize, shē was neece unto the Emperour Traiane & his sisters daughter, whome he did much loue, soz that of a childe shē was bred in his house. Adrian had a sister named Paulina, who was maried unto a Consul named Seuerinus; and the graundfather of Adrianus was named Marillinus, of the linage of the Priscans; which linage did not a little florisse in the time of the Scipions. Adrian was borne in Rome the 9. daye of Februarie, in the consulship of Vespasianus septimus, and Titus quintus; in the yere of the foundation of Rome 488. Adrian had an high bodie of perfecte proportion, except his necke, which was somewhat stouping, his nose somewhat hawked, his face swart, his eyes moze grey then blacke, his bearde blacke and thicke, his handes moze of sinewes then of fleshe, his head great and round, and a bzoade forehead, a great signe (as he had) of greate memorie. Whan his father dyed he was but of ten yeres, who left him for tutores, Vpius Traianus, and Celius Tatianus, the one beeing his buckle, and the other his friend: effectually requestinge to traine and instruct that childe in wisedome and valiantnesse: for that he had no lesse aabilitie for the one then for the other.

At the age of tenne yeres, Adrian studied Grammar, and after his fathers death, his tutores set him to learne the Greecke tongue, wherein he was so learned and expert, that for excellencie therein, in Rome they named him the Greecke childe: for that he was as readie in the Greecke tongue, as others in the Romaine speache. At the age of xvi yeres, he had a desire to passe into Spaine, to see his olde countrie, he arrived at Calize, where his mother was borne, and from whence Traiane was native, and there leaving his letters, did exercise him selfe in armes: because in those dayes the Spaniardes had there a famous studie of science, and the Romaines helde there a schoole for the warres.

Adrian

## Emperour Adrian.

Adrian bothe in leaping and running was verie light: wherein it is sayd of him, that he ranne for many wagers, and not a fewe times by running and leaping, did winne, to supply his necessitie. He greatly delighted to ride swift running hōses, and did much presume, to iudge and make choyce of them: and after in his olde age, he would vaunt and say of him selfe, that he never roade in coche, mule, or other beast, but an hōse. In the time of Adrian his youth, he was an onimie to idlenesse, and also of them that were giuen therewnto: and many times sayde, that he remembred not since the age of tenne yeres, whether hee stode still, or walked by the way, that he had not eyther a booke to reade in, or some weapō to fight with. Adrian was naturally sharpe of wit, and of great life, most apparant, in that he was not satisfied, to knowe what some men did knowe: but trauelled to haue skill in all things that men vnderstode: with Philosophers he woulde dispute, with maisters at weapons he woulde fight, with artificers he would worke, and with painters he would paint. Adrian did praise him selfe, and according to writings of olde time, he had great reason so to do: bycause there was no Art, science, occupation, or inuention in the worlde, that he knew not, or at the least did not trauell to knowe. Whan Adrian was young, he was but of small patience, for that he indured not any to excell him, neyther yet to compare with him: and rare was that quarell, which he did not make or mainteine. Whan Tatian, Adrians tutoz, did reprehend him for his impatience, and bycause he was not mylde, as the young man his couzen Emilius, he made answer: My couzen Emilius is not patient, but for that he is a coward, and I by quarelling, am become valiaunt. Neyther being a childe, or growne to moze yeres: Adrian vsed not to breake forth into soule wordes, although they sayde, or did him great iniuries: but indeede, although his young were slow, his handes were very ready. Adrian was of a sound bodie, except that sometimes he complained of his left eare, and that one of his eyes at times did water: but

C.v.

these

two euils did not blinder his hearing, much lesse his sight.

CHAP. II.

Of some euill inclinations that possessed

the said Adrian, and had power in Adrian.

The Emperour Adrian did muche delight in hunting, which he did not exercise in the plaines, but in mountaines, for he tolde no care to flee with haukes, but to fight with fierce beastes, to make a shewe of his valiauntnesse. So quiet and so venturous was Adrian in his chace, that with great reason I will not say did reprove, but note, the time that he easelmed: and that not onely for much time he spent therewer, but for that many times he was in great danger. It hapned somtimes, that in following the chace of wilde beastes, Adrian did lose himself, in those rough and craggie mountaines: wherof there followed not a few times, that he would haue eaten if he had had breade, and woulde haue dranke, if he had had wafer. When he went to hunt, he carried his crosbowe to shooe, his quiver of quarels, and his wallet of victuals: and always did place him, in the pace, where the beast shoulde passe: and had so little feare, and so desirous of chace, that if it were a beare, he did execute some aduenture: and if it were a Lion, he did abide him. It is not read, that he slue any Lion, but one: but beares and other cruell beastes, that he slue with his owne hands, were infinite. Adrian followed most fiercely a certaine beast with so great desire, and did so trauel to attain the same, that he fel over a rocke, put his shoulder out of joint, brake one of his legs, and cast much bloud out of his mouth. In the Province of Misia, Adrian built a citie, which he did name The chace of Adrian, because there he used to pitch his Pavillion, and from thence at mornings he went forth to hunt, and at night did returne to bed. He had an horse very ready for hunting, which wold staye and make ready as a man, when he vnderstode the chace comming: and therewithall ranne as sure downe the hill, as up the hill. This horse was named Borystenes, which being deade, Adrian did not only cause to be buried with much

muche honour, but also commaunded for the same a very riche sepulchre of Marble to be made and erected. Adrian did muche estyme and delight, to paynt figures and countefets very naturally, and to graue in Marble with great skill and deuice: sometimes in ware to make new inuenctions: and was in these Arts so curious, that he made the Goddess Venus in Alabaster, and with a pencill did paynt the wars of Carthage: and of ware did sourme the whole Island Creta. And albeit, that inchele things he were ready and expert, loyntly therewith he was very ambitious: because he had as great exynie, and aforancour at an artificer, which was sayde to paynt or worke more curiously then him selfe, as if the maintenance of his living had consisted therewin. There were in Rome two excellent men, the one named Dionysius, the other Milesius, men right famous in the liberal Arts: so that many in Rome did frequent their Studies, but muche more did payse their workes: Adrian did take therewof so great emme, that altho he found no cause to kill them, he wanted not occasion to banche them. A certayne shiffull carpenter in drawinge plots for buildings, being in some question with the Emperour Traiane, of the sourme and manner of placing of a Gatre, Adrian being present, shyd his iudgement, soe what besides his purpose: wher unto his carpenter Polydorus answered: Master Adrian, if your cunning did not serue you better to paynt gourdes and coocumers, then to place staires, you shuld obteine a fayre credite amost painters, as you haue amost artificers. Although Adrian could dissemble those workes, he might not in any wise forget them: for after his death of Traiane, he attaining the empire, those iniurious wards were no more softly unto the sorrowfull Polydorus, but to serue Adrian for sufficient reuenge, to take away his life. Adrian being so great a Grecian, and also a Latinist, compounded certaine workes in Heroicall metre, as also in prose, & did muche delight to haue them praised, & could not indure but y some must read them. In those daies the Greci tong flourished in Rome, brought by workes

of Homer in great estimation: whereof Adrian did take so great emeute, that he gave streight commaundement, that none shoulde reate Homer, eyther openly or secretly, but the workes of Antimachus, who was a philosopher most obseute. Adrian had condition curiously to inquire, of common and small matters: whereof he was both nosed and murmured: because, Princes being giuen to make search of trifling causes, proue variable in prouiding for matters of importance. Also Adrian was of fickle disposition: soz that at the sonden, he woulde determine, to perfourme some enterprise, and after growe colde, and incontinent omitt the same: of this, as of the rest, with great reason, he was noted and accused: bycause graue Prince ought to haue a reposed deliboration, and a diligent execution. Adrian was in two thinges most extreme: that is to say, he vised no meausur of weight in his loue, or hatred: for him whom he did loue, he gaue all his heart: and where he did abhorre, he did imploie all his strength. Admitting that this manner of loue, or hatred, is tollerable in others, yet most truely of vertuous Princes not permitted: bycause if they be vnbribled in loue, in others which they loue not, they cause enuie: and if they be absolute in hatred, they sake vnto them selues great insamme: wherefore it is conuenient in loue, to be discrete, and in hatred, prouident and aduised. He was likewise most extreme, that if he praised any thing, he did aduaunce it to the cloudes: and if it fell not into his fauour, he dispraised it to the deepest bottome: in such manner, that all sayd of Adrian, that in praising, he was verie gracious, and in nippes, tauntes, and gyrdes, not a little malicious. Adrian had great delight in faire women, who was so absolute and also so disolute in that vice, that he did not onely enjoy virgins, persuadre married women, but also in the houses of his verie friendes, he had his secrete loues. Of the one part, considering his iniustice, and of the other partie, the great iniuste that he did execute: the historiographers would not place him amongst the pitifull Princes: neither condemne him with

that were tyrannous: because most truly if he did challice some by iustice, also he slue others by enuie.

## C H A P. I I I.

Of the friends and enimies which Adrian had.

Adrian being of the age of ninetene yeres, Traiane conceyting the abilitie and towardnesse of the yong man, as well in letters as in armes, sent to Spaine for him to come to Rome, with whome he did so behaue himselfe, that for entertainment, he did receive him into his chamber, and in his loue, did place him as a childe. The naturall bountie, and great abilitie of Adrian being in appearance, Traiane from thence forth did so regard and fire his eyes, as well to honour him, all the dayes of his life: as also to leauue him Emperour, after his death. Adrian being in so great fauour with the Emperour Traiane, there solowed therof in processe of time, no small displeasures to his person, and perils vnto his life: soz his enimies by enuie, with the Emperour procured his disgrace, and with their malice, did maligne him with the people. It is an auncient pestilence in the courtes of Princes, that the Prince being pleased to beare affection, or to honour any person, forthwith they ioyne to murmur, & procure to persecute the same. As Seuerianus being husband vnto a sister of Adrian, did murmur of him vnto Traiane, saying y it was a wonder vnto all men in Rome, to see Adrian so priuate, & so far in fauour, & that they presumed y after his dayes, he shoulde leauue him the Empire: vnto whome Traiane made answere: Who hath to succeede me in the Empire: only the Gods be acquainted therewith: but admitting, that it were my will, and the Goddes permitting, that Adrian shoulde succeede me in the Empire: I can say vnto thee, that to governe the same he will proue no sole, neyther a cowarde to defende it. The answere that Traiane made, was

Was very god, and yet not without a secret taunt, for that the Consul Seuerianus, had neyther praised him for valiant, eyther held him for wise. This Seuerianus was alwaies a great enimie of Adrian, & did not cease trauelling to disgrace him with the Emperour: wherby Adrian hapned at times, to be both in fauour, and disfauour: in such manner, that Adrian burned betwix two fiers, whiche is to wit, care to resist his enimies, and solicitude in concerning his frends. The first office that Adrian had in Rome, Traiane being Consul, and Domitian being emperour, he was made a Decem viriato: that is to say, he was appoin-  
ted for one of the ten men, that were deputed, to determin contentions amongst the people. Adrian gaue so god ac-  
count of his office, and recovered in Rome so god fame, that he seemed sufficient unto al men, alone and in his own person, to gouerne a common wealth: and so it came to passe, that in the yeare folowing, he was deputed Tribune of the second legion: that is to say, that he had charge to gouerne and correct the seconde capteinship, of the armies that were in the wars: bycause it was a custome in Rome, that everie capteinship should haue a capteine to fight: and a Tribune to rule and gouerne. The yeare of the tribune office being past, he was sent unto the inferiour Misia, go-  
verning that Province with so great prudence, and was of such readinesse and skill amongst those Barbarians, that some delighted to obey him, & the others durst not resist him. Adrian was in no small perplexite, for the doubt he had to be remoued from Traianes fauour, which he suspec-  
ted, to see hym selfe in Misia, & his enimie Seuerianus with Traiane in Rome: that vpon any report that might be made of him there, y malice of his enimie had place to ag-  
grauate, and he for hym selfe being farre distant, not able to answere. Traiane had in his chamber one whome he much fauoured, named Gallus, a most speciall friend unto Adrian: and Adrian being aduertised, that Gallus his yuorit faithfull frende was deade, made for him great obse-  
quies, and wept for hym many teares. There succeeded in fauour

faudur unto this Gallus another named Surus, a man suffi-  
ciently wise and prudent: and also this, as Gallus, was most speciall friend unto Adrian; and the very cause wher-  
by he obteined the fauoured to be his friends, was: for that in his giftes he was very liberall: and to doe for his friend, no leesse determined. Also Adrian gaue him self to content, serue, and please Plotina, Traianes wife, and vled therein so great skill, and came so farre into fauour with Plotina, that out of that so narrowe friendship, he gathered more profit, then she did honour. Traiane had in his house a neece named Sabina, whiche was to marrie, and requested for wife, of many noble Romaines: but Plotina and Surus tra-  
velled and persuaded Traiane to marrie her unto Adrian: affirming that with this marriage, he was excused of two marriages, that is to say: to seeke a wife for Adrian, and an husband for Sabina. When as Adrian had presented many giftes, and offered many services unto Plotina: partly for the great loue that she did beare him, and for that she had married him unto Sabina, she made him answere: Adrian, according to the god will which I beare thee, it is smal which I haue done for thee, in respect of that which I meane to doe: for that I may doe little with my Lord Traiane, but as he hath chosen thee to be his nephew, he shall also adopt thee to be his sonne. After Adrian had obteined Plotina for his god Ladie, Sabina for his wife, and Surus for his friend, he little esteemed the enimite of Seuerianus his enimie: bycause in Traianes house, all did honour him as one in fauour, & did serue him as a maister.

## CHAP. IIII.

Of the loue that the Emperour Traiane  
had unto Adrian.

By the marriage that Adrian had with Sabina, neece unto the Emperour Traiane, there followed him, not a little, but very much profit: for, besides that he was most in

in fauour with the Emperour, and verie well liked of the Empresse Plotina, the greatest parte of the affaires of the Empire, was dispatcht by his handes. Adrian presuming of great eloquence, presented vpon a day before the Senate, a certaine pastoall enterlude, wherat the Senators and Dratours did greatly laugh: not onely of that whiche he sayde, but also of the base stile wherein he did speake the same. He gaue him selfe to the Latine young, and to the Art of an Dratour, wherin he grew so profound, y they gaue to him as great glori for his speache, as vnto Cicer o for his writing. In the first warres that Traiane had with the Datians, Adrian was made Questor, that is to say, he had charge to prouide, victuals and furniture for the campe: whiche was an office amongst the armies, of great honour, and of much confidence: for he had both the treasure in his custodie, and the payment of the campe. When Traiane was eyther sick, or not at leasure, on his behalfe Adrian went to the Senate: but the Senators, although they did admit him to speake, they did not permit him to exceede, or to take the chiefe place: for it was a lawe amongst them much vsed, that being assembled in the Senate, none shoulde presume to clap his handes, to cause silence, or comand the doore to be shut, neyther enter being clad with a long gowne, or to place him selfe in the highest seate, but onely the Emperour. Being notorious vnto all men, that Adrian was priuate with the Emperour Traiane, and in great fauour with Plotina his wife, and therewithall, that he was a man both prudent and politique: and although in the Senate not permitted to the chiefe place, yet all things were directed by his counsell, in such wise, that at home all things were done as he thought god, and abroade as he did commaund. When it was knowne in Rome, that the king of Datia effscones had rebelled, Adrian presently persuaded Traiane, in his owne person to go to that war, and to leaue the enterprise to no other man: wherein Adrian did followe and serue Traiane, more then any other capteine: and certainly did there so

so valiaunt and notable deedes, that with Traiane he obtayned fauour, and aduanced his person to great estimation. Adrian being thus notisid in the warres of Datia, Traiane thought it meke to commende vnto him the seconde legion, which was vnder the protection of the Goddess Minerua: and in such manner did governe the same, and gaue his squdiers so great courage, that he was the man, that did most grieue the enimie, and least did feare perilles. The thing most esteemed of the Emperour, Traiane, was a Diamond which Nerua had ginen him: this Diamond Traiane gaue Adrian, in the time of the warres of Datia, which was so kept and esteemed of Adrian, that vntill the day of his death, it was never seene off from his finger. The warres of Datia being finisched, Traiane returned to Rome, leauing Adrian as Pro-tour of that Province, Sullurus and Seuerianus being consuls. He had not long governed Datia, when Adrian received from the Senate newe prouision to passe into Panonia: where he was not only gouernour in causes of iustice, but also had charge of all martiall affaires: because certaine barbarous Danubians had entered those Provinces, lacking and spoylng greate countries. Adrian being arrived into Panonia, did in short time expell the enimies, visited the countries, reformed the armies, chasched the Romaine officers: and founde by information, that they were great friendes of idlenesse, and no enimies of robberie. The same being come to Rome, of the commendable gouernement of Adrian in Panonia: in the yeare following, in the Kalends of Januarie, the Senate did elect him Consul: and truely, as they were many, that did alowe this election, so they were not few that did resist it: but in fine, the procurers had more force in their diligence, then the malice of them which resisted.

## The life of the

CHAR. V.

Of the care and solicitude of Adrian,  
to obteine the Empire.

In all Kingdomes and Provinces, where Adrian was eyther Pretour or Questour, presently he made diligent inquisition, if there were any Magicians or Soothsayers: and if he founde any he did persiade them, with sweete wordes, and riche rewardes, to be certified, if after the death of Traiane, the Empire should come unto his handes: for that he was not onely desirous to obteine the same, but carefull to know the issue thereoff. Being resident in the Province of Mesia, he was aduertised by a Mathematicke, that he shoulde be Emperour: and demaunding howe and by what meanes, he vnderstode thereof, answered: by a certaine friend which was not onely learned in the naturall courses, but also did vnderstaunde the secretes of the innumerable Gods. Although Adrian was resident in straunge Provinces, he was not slacke to serue the Empresse Plotina, and to please the chamberlaine Surus: in such wise, that if his enimies did thinke him farre off, they found his seruice, alwayes ready and at hande. Nowe when Traiane was stricken in age, and become sickly, Adrian continued no lesse diligent, to sollicite Plotina and Surus, to persuade the Emperour, to adopt him for his sonne: but on the other side the Consul Seuerianus, Palma and Celsus, and other his enimies, did withstande: whose diligence and malice did little profite, bycause they did but discouer their intent, and coulde not obteine their desire. Eyther by the enely will of Traiane, or by the impotunitie of Plotina, nor by the suite of Surus, eyther by the merite of his owne person, the Emperour Traiane determined to chose Elias Adrian to be his sonne, after his dayes to succeede him in the Empire: for the Emperour had many kingdomes to giue, but no sonne to whom he might leaue the same.

Before Traiane had elected Adrian, he was long determined, to make no assignement of any person, to succeed him

## Emperour Adrian.

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in the Empire, but to haue vsed the order of Alexander the great: who being demanded, whome he woulde assigne to succeede him in his Monarchie, answered, Vnto the most worthy: Traiane made a memoriall, of all the most vertuous, wise, and of most worthinesse within the Empire: and boylntly therewith, caused to be written of them, severall Orations, in Greke and Latine: and he him selfe did adde with his owne hande, what he thought agreeable to their conditions and abilities. To the ende that after his dayes, the Senate might open and reade the same, and from thence to make election: not of him that did most procure, but that did best deserue. At one time a certaine Consul, named Neratius Priscus, was greatly in his fauour, vnto whom he had thought to haue left the Empire, in so much, y one day Traiane said vnto him: Neratius Priscus, from henceforth I commend the Empire unto the, if any sorrowfull or souden destinie shall happen vnto me. All such as did withstande the adoption of Adrian, did fauour the election of Neratius Priscus: but Fortune that shoulde haue framed the effect, brought Neratius into Traianes great hatred, not a little to the profite of Adrian: by cause from thence forth, although their remained enimies to hinder his intent, none as an opposite, durst demande the same. When Traiane passed from Spaine into Asia, to the wars of the Parthians, Plotina and Surus, made great suite that Adrian shoulde be sente, as Pretour into Syria: whee being in Antioche, was aduertised by a messenger from Traiane, which in times past had bene his tutor, how he was elected to be Traianes sonne, and assigned his successor in the Empire. Exceeding was the ioy that Adrian received with that newes, which he did vtter in such excesse manner and degrēe, that presently he did celebrate, with great games and feastes, the day of his nativitie: and not only vpon that day, but every yeare, all the dayes of his life: because it was the thing, that his heart most desired, and for the attaigment whereof, he had implored his greatest skill and strenght.

At that time were Consuls; Sosius and Pretorius, with whome Adrian entered newe friendshipe: and the ende wherefore he did undertake this newe affection, was, that as Plotina & Surus did solcote & procure the Empire with Traiane, so those two Consuls shuld subtilt him in the Senate: in such wise, that if he did watch to obtaine it, he did overwatch to sustaine it. Not long after that Adrian was adopted, that is to say, after fourtene monethes, Traiane dyed: presently Plotina his wife, and the Consul Tatianus, being chiese friendes unto Adrian, did take order and vse great diligence, that Adrianis admission unto the Empire, might first be notified and knowne in Rome, before the death of the Emperour Traiane: whiche was concealed and couered for certaine dayes, saying, that he was so sickle, that he would not be visited, vntill they were possesse of the power of the armes, and had obtainede the god will of the Senate. Adrian did write unto the Senatours, giving them to understand, that Traiane was at the point of death, and that also he was assignd and adopted to be his successor and heire in the Empire: and did right instantly request them, to take the same in god parte, and therewpon did promise, and swere unto them, to diuide or give offices, but at their owne liking and consent.

## CHAP. VI.

Howe at Traianes death Adrian  
was declared Emperour;

The newes of Traianes death being arrived at Rome, presently it was published, that the succession of the empire was committed unto Adrian: & vpon the confirmation, or refusall of this election, there arose no small contentioun in the Senate: and the matter so farre argued & prosecut-

ted, by his friendes, and so resisted by his enimies: that it gaue no small doubt of intestine warrs, no lesse cruell, then the warres betwixt Cæsar and Pompey. The seruants of Traiane, the friends of Plotina, and the kinred and allies of Tatian, did vse suche diligence in this case, that within thre dayes they confirmed Adrian, in the Empire: and the greatest cause to moue the Senate therewto, was: that they had intelligence, that Adrian was in Syria, in full power, possession, and authoritie, of the whole armie: and might haue bene constrained to yealde by force, whiche they refused to perfourme by god will. Presently after Adrian was confirmed in the Empire, he did write unto the Senate, gratifying their friendly fact, and requiring that Traiane might be collocate amongst the Gods, since he had bene a Prince so diuine, whereto the Senate gladly consented, saying: that although Traiane had finished his life, for euermore in Rome his fame shoulde indure. In memorie y Traiane had overcome the Parthians, they ordeined y every yeare the Parthik playes should be celebratzed in Rome, whiche indured amongst the Romans many yeres: but in fine, they and their playes had an end. Before all thinges, Adrian gaue order, that the body of Traiane might be brought into Italie, where it shoulde be giuen a generous sepulchre, and to effectuate the same, commanded his ashes to be inclosed in a boxe of Unicorne, which also was inclosed with golde, and placed in a piller of most excellent marble, lynes with most rich purple: all which being lade into a gallie, he sent Tatian and Plotina, w the body unto Rome: al Rome went forth to receive y body of Traiane: and as it is sayd and written, there was neuer so muche joy uttered for any man, that entered being aliue: but muche more sorrowe was discouered, for Traianes comming deade. Adrian stayed in Antioche, whiche is the heade of Syria, partly to assemble the whole armie, and partly to recover money: for being then winter, he could neyther campe for coldenesse of the weather: eyther marche or tourney for want of money.

Adrian was there aduertised, howe the Mauritans did desse him, the Sarmatians did mutinate, the Britans did rebell, the Palestines resist, the Aegyptians disobey, and that all the Barbarians were in commotion. Finally, it is to be understande, that vpon the death of Traiane, al people and nations were so scandalized, that it seemed not, but that he left the world without a maister or an owner. Adrian perceiving the greater part of the Empire in commotion, determined to make them no war, but to intreate them by peace: and for this cause he refused and forsooke al those kingdomes and Provinces, that lay beyond the riuers Euphrates, and the riuer Tygris, which the god Traiane had wonne and conquered: in which conquest he employed his noble person, and gaue ende vnto his honourable life. Unto all kingdomes and Provinces, Adrian sent Embassadours, to confederate with some, and to confirme peace with others: and with some he did capitulate thinges so flaunderous, and with so great disadvantage: that it had bene much better to haue raysed warre, then to haue procured a peace so infamous. Parthnapate king of the Parthians, came to complaine vnto Adrian, saying, that the god Traiane had given him that kingdome, and crowned him with his owne hands, and now vpon the death of Traiane, they would neyther obey him, or suffer him to live within the kingdome. Adrian would not, or else durst not, make warres with the Parthians: but gaue vnto Parthnapate, the Seigniorie of certaine countries and Provinces of Syria, being vacant at that time, as Lorde to intoy the fruities thereof, and as Romaine Pretour to gouerne the people.

When Adrian had obtineid the Empire, presently he published and sayd vnto all men, that he wold become a pitifull Prince: and truly, in some pitifull causes, he did shew him selfe to be the sonne of Traiane: but in some rigorous matters, he seemed to be the brother of Nero. A certaine man named Bebius, was Prefect in Rome, who was contrarie vnto Adrian, in all thinges that eyther touched his honour or prospite: and being counselled to kill Bebius, for that

that he ceased not to be his aduersarie, made answere: I will not onely permit Bebius to liue, but also the ofice of Pretour, which hee helde but for a yare, I will confirme vnto him during his life. Laberius and Frugius, two Romaine Senatours, were banished vnto the Isle of Pontus, whom he commaunded to returne to their houses, and their goddes to be restored them: but the Consul Frugius being mutinous, moving commotion betwixt Adrian and the Senate, he commaunded to be thowtne aliuine into Tyber: and obteined no lesse honour, in the executing of the one, then in pardoning the other. Unto certayne Gentle-men of the armie, that sayde vnto Adrian in times past, that he should be Emperour, he gaue double rewardes: affirming, that he gaue them not for their aduertisement, but for their god will.

## C H A P. V I I.

Of his entrie into Rome.

Nowe when Summer was come, Adrian parked from Antioche to come to Rome: and lefte for Preposite of Syria, Catalius Seuerus, and tolke his way throught Illyria, and determined to make warre with the Sarmatians, which would not receive the Ambassadours of peace. Lucius Turbon, that had bene Pretour tenne yeares in Mauritania, came forth to mæte him vpon the waye, with whome Adrian had great friendship, being a young man, and in house with his Lorde Traiane: presently he made him Pretour of the Province of Dacia, and Pannonia. At that time Lucius Turbon was in Africa, maister of the horsemen, of whome Adrian was aduertised, that he was verie riche, and in greate power throughtout the kingdome, and that he had not obteined all that riches, in the time of warre, but by vnyterie in time of peace.

Adrian was not a little grieved, of that which was sayde by Lucius Turbone, bycause he was his friende, and also seruaunt vnto Traiane: but all this notwithstanding, he applyed all that he had, vnto the common treasure, and disarmed him of his knighthode. As muche as Adrian did increase in potencie, so much did his enimies increase in ennie: in suche manner, that they coulde neyther incline their harts to loue him, eyther yeld their streghth to serue him. The case was thus, that Palma, Celsus, Sobaius, and Lucius, Adrian going on hunting, were determined in the middest of the chace, to rid him of his life: wherevpon they were agrēed, that in his swiftest pursuit of any wild beast, they would attend him in the most thickest pace or track: & there vnder the colour to misse their leuell at the beast, would shooe and kill the Emperour. All these fourre were men of noble bloud, and rich in gods, and were called Consulares: bycause at other times they had bene Consuls: but as their treason was discouered, first by iustice they were beheaded, before Adrian went on hunting. Great was the murmuring and mutinie throughout all Rome, when they vnderstoode howe Adrian had executed so cruell iustice, vpon these fourre Consulares or noble men: partly for that they helde opinion, that Adrian had raised that quarrell againte them: and partly for custome and maner, for that felwe were the chastisements, whiche the good Traiane did execute, but great was the number that received pardon. Adrian being aduertised, that for the death of the fourre Consulares, all Rome was escandalized, and that for a man renenging and cruell, his person was defamed, determined with all spedē to come to Rome, to excuse him selfe of that fault. The affaires of Adrian stood not in so euill estate, as vpon the way, they gaue him aduertisement: which did well appeare, in that the Senate did offer him the triumph due vnto Traiane, being cut of by death to injoy the same: but Adrian refusing, gaue or-der, that the Image of Traiane shoulde be placed in the triumphant chariote: to the ende that god Traiane shoulde

shoulde not want a triumphe, although but after his death. Presently when Adrian came to Rome, he went to vistite the Sepulchre of his Lord Traiane, where his eyes did shed many teares, and for him did offer vnto the Gods most sumptuous sacrifices. All the Senate being ioyned, and also all the most principal of the people, vnto whome Adrian made a long oration: wherin he gaue them to vnderstand of the state of the Empire: and did excuse him selfe of the death of the aforesaide fourre Consulares: because the officers of the Senate had made searche and inquisition of the cause, and the Pretors of the armes did execute the sentence. The Senate did offer Adrian the title of Pater patriæ, but he would not receiuē it, affirming it to be one of the titles of his lord Traiane: and since he had been a good father, it were great reason he shoulde proue a good sonne. It was a custome in Rome and throughout all Italie, that when their Princes came newly to gouerne the Empire, that all cities and other people shoulde furnishe him with a certeine summe of golde and siluer: with the golde to make a crowne, and the siluer for the seruice of his house: and sometimes they did present so much golde to make the crowne, that the remaunt was sufficient to mainteine the warres. Adrian refused not onely this seruice to be demanded, but also returned that which was brought him: saying, that his crowne shoulde be riche, when his subiectes shoulde be in wealth. The officers of the treasurie, that is to saye, suche as had the collection and keeping of the masse of Rome, had raised greate rentes, daily inventing newe manner of tributes, in the common wealth: whiche being knowne vnto Adrian, he commaunded all newe impositions to be remoued from the common wealth, and the iuictors shereof to be displaced from their offices. Generally the Romans complained vnto Adrian of the deirth of victuals: forwith he prouided for prouision of wheat from Sicyl, wines from Candie, and oyle from Spaine: and farther, gaue such pricess vnto the same, and all other victuals, that the poore

might feede with the riche. He did promise and swaere in the Senate to put no Senatour unto death, although he were culpable, without the accused shold first be heard, and his cause considered by all the Senate: and truely this oþer did excuse Adrian of many executions, and was no lesse occasion that the Senatours committed many faultes. Princes haue to consider what they swaere and promise: for, from that day wherein Princes shal vnable the selues, to punishe vice and sinne, from thenceforth their vassals shal followe wickednesse. In the yere that Adrian entred Rome, all thinges were deare, and the people not sounde oþ in health: who vsing greate magnificencie, commaunded much money to be giuen to the poore of the common wealth in such wise, that it was not founde that any died for hunger, either suffered any extreme necessitie.

There were many that had beene banished, and diuorse in prison for debt due unto the Fiscall: that is to saye, vns to his chamber. Adrian gaue commanudement by publicke proclamation, that all such debtes should be absoluued, and that for any such debte, none shold be runnagates, either kept in prison. Adrian did derogate the law & custome of his predecessours, which is to wþt, that y gods of the condemned, shold be for the Prince, which he commaunded from thenceforth to be employed not to his chamber, but to the comfort of the common wealth: for he saide and helde opinion, that the Judge shold never be grieved, to punishe offendours, when he shold remember, to inherite a share of the offendours goods. He extremely delighted when any person came to craue, and much more did reioyce, if he had to giue: but if by chaunce he had not to satisfie his demand, at the least he gaue him a friendly answer. From the time that Adrian was in possession of y Empire: he was never heard to say, oþ name, Traiane: but, my Lord Traiane.

## CHAP. VIII.

Of the good conditions and inclinations  
of Adrian.

With

With much diligence and no lesse secrete, Adrian inquired, what life the Senatours did leade, and what exercise they vþed: and such as he found poore and vertuous, he augmented their patrimonie: and such as he found riche and vicious, he found meane to deprive them from y Senate. Adrian was a Prince, verie skilfull, and muche considerate in punishing his officers and seruautes, that is to saye: he kept secrete from the people the causes why he remoued any person from his office. And further, if he displaced any person from his commoditie, he did not forȝet otherwys to recompence him, in such maner, that if he did chassise them, he did not dishonor them. Many times, did Adrian speake these wþdes: Whome I shal see esteemed and worshipped in the common wealth, I wil rather determin to take away his hed then his honour. The rents which the god Traiane left in many partes of Italie, for y bræding of children, the sustaing of widowes, & the mariage of Orphans, he did not only confirme, but also made better. All the seruants of Traiane he did aduaunce to better offices: & such as were not meete for offices, he gaue the money. Adrian commaunded serch to be made, how many noble men were falle into pouertie: & such as were decayed by mischaunce, he relieued: & such as procured pouertie by vice, he gaue them leaue to endure necessitie. He gaue help to al y Romaine widowes to marrie their daughters, & he was not more boþiful in giuing relief unto y daughters, then he was an enimie to succour the sonnes: for he helde opinion, that, that young man deserved not to be married, that with his handes did not obteine a mariage. By thre dayes space, he did celebrazte the feast of the god Genius: that is to saye, the daye of his birth: and commaunded upon those dayes, to giue pitances unto all y people, and he with all the Senatours and nobles did eate and banquet in his imperiall palace: the cost whereof did not amount unto so little, but as they were thþz, if they had beene sixe, the rentes of the whole Empire had been spent, and parte of their treasure.

By

By the space of sixe continuall dayes he did cause them to representer the game of sworde players: and the people craved certeine other playes, which he would not consent: not for that he delighted not therein, but to give them to vnder stand in Rome, that it appertained vnto Princes, as much to moderate their pleasures, as to give order for thinges of importance. Before Adrian was Emperour, he was thise Consul, for which cause he made divers Romaines thre times Consuls: and whereas some were offended, for want of like fauour, he did aunswere: Such as did excede mee in merite, ought to be equall with mee in dignitie. Within the compasse of Rome, never before the dayes of Adrian, were permitted more then two Consuls: the one to gouverne the common wealth, the other to go to the warres: but Adrian did adde and create a thirde Consul: for that if y one shoulde be sickle, and the other resident in the warres, the common wealth shoulde not remaine without an head. Tutinus a noble knight of Rome, Adrian did create Senatour, and gaue him the ensignes of Consul, whereat the whole Senate was offended: affirming, that the Emperour ought or might not create in such manner: partly, because Tutinus was not of deseruing, and partly, for that the advise of the Senate shoulde haue bene vsed therein. Adrian was displeased with these wordes of the Romaines, and from thence forth did vs more libertie in reparting offices, and lesse compayne in determining causes. He helde Seuerianus in greate veneration, which had married his sister, vnto whome he gaue both honour and great rewardes: and at all times, whent Seuerianus came vnto his chamber to conserre, and to vnderstand his pleasure, Adrian came soorth to meete and receive him at the doore. Although Seuerianus came to visite Adrian, and Adrian came soorth to receive Seuerianus, yet auncient and very mortall was the hatred betwixt them: for in this case, either of them did vitter and discouer, to be possessed with a moste vile intent: for that Seuerianus did traualle to depigne Adrian from Empire and

and honour, and Adrian with no lesse facilitie did take awaie his life. Whent Adrian was in Rome, at the least he went thise a wike vnto the Senate: and if he were either sickle, or muche busied, they did repaire vnto his presence: in such maner, that nothing of importance did passe in the Senate, wherein they did not vse his iudgement. Adrian was of familiar conuersation with his speciaall friendes, and with his particular seruaunts, with whome he went to eate in their gardeines, to fishe at rivers, to hunt in the fieldes, and all other such like pastimes. Naturallly he was given to haue compassion of the sickle, and herein he did neither consider whether they were friends or foes: for that indifferently he did visite them, and at his owne charges did prouide for them. He did not onely visite the sickle, but also the olde men, decrepites with age: of whome at large he woulde inquire of the yeres that they had liued, the kingdomes they had trauelled, the daungers they had passed, the enimies which they had helde, & the necessities that they had enpured, in sache wise, that many times, of the things which they had saide, of times past, he tooke example for the tyme present. Adrian was a most singular friende of vertuous men, and wise Philosophers, and never wanted their compaiane, either in warre or peace: because of the vertuous he learned how to liue, and of the Philosophers howe to gouverne.

Turbone, maister of the horse men had a sonne with Adrian, sufficiently valiant, and with Adrian very priuate: but ioyntly wth this, he helde him for presumptuous in speach, and covetous in dealings, because all whiche Adrian did at his request and suite, he solde it all for money: the truthe of this case being knownen, Adrian received therof so great displeasure, that presently he commaunded the young man to be appreheended, and that all thinges which by briberie he had purloined shoulde be taken from him, and restored vnto the owners, and to be transpored as a banished man to the Isle of Pontus: vnto whome Adrian saide, of this offence, thou shalt remaine chassiced, and I warne

warned for ever more, to shewe ouermuch and extreme  
faour unto my seruaunt, whereby to conuert loue into  
pride, or to sell faour for covetise.

## CHAP. IX.

¶ Of the maner which Adrian vsed with  
the men of warre.

When Adrian parted from Almaine to come to Rome, not as then determined to haue stayed long there: but the occasion of his staye, was, for that the god Traiane, in his latter yeres, was detained so long time in the warres of Asia, & Europa, that the common wealthes of Italic were growen to greate and ouermuch libertie. Adrian departing from Rome, came streight unto Gallia Transalpina: not to conquer but to visite the same. The frenchemen did much reioyce at his coming, and in every province did him great seruice, because Adrian was the first Romaine Prince that ever entred Fraunce in peace, for that all his predecessoris brake in by violent hostilitie. Personally visiting all Gallia, wherein he did erect newe buildinges, repaired the olde, redified temples, reformed priestes, set at libertie certeine gentlemen, gaue gifles vnto the people, pardoned some offences, and punished others: finally all his deedes, were gratesfull vnto the citizens, & profitable vnto the common wealth. The affaires of Fraunce being set in order, once more he returned to passe y Alps, and tooke his way into Almaine, without any disposition to make warre, but to procure peace: for that Adrian naturally was givuen friendly with all men to haue peace, whiche if they would not accept, he was not after easie to intreate.

In the time that Adrian had most peace, then did he exercise his men of warre, as if he had beenc amonkest his enemieis: and for this cause he helpe opinion, that al Princes did clauie his peace; for that he was never vncradie to make

make warre. Adrian inuented many deuises, wherin his knyghtes might exercise their strenght, as wagers to runne, towres, and sortes of wood, and earth, to assault, marche tenne against tenne in combat: he sought out frong places to practise the arte of mining, provokid them to go to wassling, and brought them to riuers to learne to swim: finally, he held them so occupied, that they desired rather to fight an whole day in earnest, then so many dayes in iest. Also Adrian did vsle to feede of the common victuals of the camp, that is to saye, grese bakyn, rat eaten chese, powdred beeke, and barley bread: and if any thinge were best for his owne person, moze delicate then y rest, he made suche diuision, that the least parte came to him selfe. What more or lesse, he alwayes did weare some armour: and if by chaunce he found any gentleman unarmid, presently he was checked of his wages: affirming, that the man that goeth vnarmed, ought not to be intreated and honoured as a gentlemā. In the armes, amonst the greater or lesse, better or worse, their worke or exercise was equally diuided: whiche is to wāte, when the time was to drawe, all did hale and drawe: and when the time was to dig, all without exception at their turne, did dig and mine: at the time of watching in their course, euery man did watche: in these travells he did no more excuse him selfe then others: for at his turne, he did both watche and dig in the mine with his owne handes. He had not, neither consented in the warres, the vse of high tables to feede on, either portals to passe the time, neither canes to cole or recreate, either warmed water to bathe, neither cookerie or dressing of meate, either selling of sweete oyntments: for he helde opinion, that the god and valiant scouldiers, did not annoynt them selues, but with the blood of enimies. Adrians garments were not curios or costlye, but very cleanly, wherunto he was addicted, both in diet, and apparell: and after a maner he did abhoze suche men as were not neke and fine: affirming, that filthie men be alwayes of drouise iudgements.

In the warres he did never weare silk, purple, or riche vesture, either buttons, or agglets of golde, or his dagger, sworde, or armour gilt: but notwithstanding verye fine and strong. When any was notisid in the warres, of valiant and doubtie deedes, presently he did notisid him, with great and bountifull rewardes: in such manner, that he did not deserre to recompence at Rome any service don in the warres. When he trauailed through mountaines, most times he did alight to bring other men on foote, and did marche xv. or xx. miles in his armour: and this he did, to keepe their hōsles fleshe and lussy, if they shoulde hap to encounter with the enimie. He did alwayes lodg with in the campe, and ordinarilie he went from tent to tent, to visite the wounded, and with the whole and sound to haue conuersation. Adrian was so familiar with his men of warre, that he called verie many by their names, and knew all men by their gesture: in such wise, that no enimie or straunger, might enter his campe that to him was unknownen. When a hōslemans come was vacant in the warres, the captaines sought out such as shoulde succēde: but Adrian in his owne person would examine him, and this he did, to knowe his face, and try his strength. Such as he did elect tribunes, or captaines of his armies, were verie valiant, but not couetous: and ioyntly therewith, he admitted not young men without beardes, either olde men brokē or decayed: doubting, in too much youth, want of gouernement: and in too much age, strength to fight. He made god paye unto his men of warre, freightly so, bidding his captaines to imbezill any wages, or to take awaie present giuing unto the souldiers: and this Adrian did, to auoide necessarie in the one, and couetise in the other. He did prohibite by a publique lawe, that none shoulde carrie unto the warres any superfluous thing, and that none shoulde presume to buy or sell any thing that was not necessarie. Very diligent to furnishe his camps with victuals, which being brought unto the campe, he did so prize them, that the buyer was not robbed, either the seller

seller defrauded. Imitating Vegetius, Adrian did writte a booke, wherein he did instruct the captaines, howe they shoulde fight: and an order, how tribunes shoulde gouerne the armies: to conformitie whereof he made many excellent lawes, which for long time were observed of the Romaine Princes. In this case, of order, provision, and correction of the men of warre, they were onely thre Princes that attained unto the chiese perfection thereof: that is to saye, Augustus, Traiane, and Adrian, because all other Princes, helde men of warre not to defend, but to dissipate the common wealth.

## CHAP. X.

¶ Of the actes that Adrian did in Englande, Fraunce, and Spaine.

All the time that Adrian was in Almaine, he did mosse occupie him selfe in reforming his men of warre into god customes and order, which he did not without greate prudence, after the manner of a god mariner, whiche in time, when the ſea is calme, doeth drefle and mende his ſailes, & order his anchors againſt the ſtorme and ſoudain chaunes that may followe in time to come.

From Almaine, Adrian cam into greate Britaine, whiche is nowe called England, and there founde peace, as in Fraunce, which was then holden for a greate maruaile: because from the time of Iulius Cæſar, whiche did ſirſt conquer the ſame, unto the dayes of Adrian, they were never without warres with the Frenche men, or rebelling againſt the Romaines. Presently uppon his entrie into Britaine, he ſought curiouſly to be informed of the lawes they helde, and of the customes they vsed: which being peruiled and examined, ſome he did allowe, and ſome he did remoue and make frustrate: especially, he did admiralitate that lawe, whereby the man ſhould holde ii. wiues, and the woman, vii. hufbandes. When Iulius Cæſar did

conquer the Ilande of England, he brought many people out of Italic to inhabite that countrie: and although the native, with the straunger, helde no warre, yet liued they not in perfect peace: for the Britans did terme y Romaines newe come men, and the Romaines did call them Barbarians. Adrian finding that no friendship might be framed by prayer, or amendment by correction, deuised to diuide the kingdome in the middest: and the case was thus: that in the middest of the kingdome, he made a wall from Sea to Sea, a worke most straunge, wherein this Prince did employ great treasure. Adrian being resident in Britaine, was aduertised from Rome of the want of god gouernement that was vsed in his wifes house, by the occasion of certeine Romaines, which aduentured to accompany the Empresse: whose conuersation was more to the preiudice of his fame, then to the profite of his seruice. Septicius Presectus, and Sertonius Tranquillus, which at that time were Secretaries unto the Senate: these & others grewe very familiar with the Empresse Sabina: whome Adrian sent commaundement to be depriued of their offices, and to be banished Rome. Sabina, Adrians wife, was holden to be franke of speache, and of life somewhat licentious. Adrian did greatly abhorre to haue Sabina unto his wife: and would saye, not in secrete, but openly, that if he were a common person, he would haue beeне diuorced, for that in her conuersation shēe was presumptuous, & in life loose & dissolute. Adrian was much inclined to understand, not onely the conditions & inclinations of his frinds but also of the manner which they vsed to liue in their houses: for the understanding wherof, he woulde inquire of the seruants, slaves and labourers that brought them victuals, what they did eate, and what they did drinke, & what their maisters spent in their houses. Sabina wife unto Adrian, did write a certeine letter unto a Romaine gentleman, complaining that he woulde not come to visit her, through y pleasures of Britaine, & newe loues in that countrey y he had taken in hand, which letter happening by chaunce into the handes of Adrian, & the knight understand-

anding therof, neither went to Rome or abode in Britan. All things set in order in greate Britan, Adrian had intelligence, that in Gallia Transalpina, which nowe is named sweete Fraunce, a popular sedition was raised, in such euil maner, that if it were not presently cut off, it might break out into a long & cruel warre. All the contention was raised vpon certeine boundes & pastures, in a place called Apim: Presently Adrian passed into Gallia, & personally went to see y marks & bounds therof: the one & the other heard, he did diuide those bounds & limits equally betwixt them. When as a Romaine saide vnto Adrian, y it was the office of a pōe Judge, & not of a mightie Emperour, he answered: I had rather diuide boundes in peace, then conquer countries with warre. Now, when Adrian woulde departe from Fraunce, he received newes from Rome, howe Plotina wife vnto Traiane was dead: and as shē had been his onely mistresse, & his special friend, he felte her death so sensibly y besides sighing & weeping, he grewe so extremely sorrowful, y he did not eate in long time. He staide in the place where he received these newes many moneths, and presently did write vnto y Senate, y Plotina shoulde be adored amongst y Goddesses: and on the other parte, he comaunded costly & generous sacrifices to be offered for her: he did edifie vnto her honour & perpetual memorie, a temple neare vnto Mansin, which he erected vpon pillars of marueilous marble, & did endue with great riches. The affaires of Fraunce being dispatched, he came by y Pyrineā hilles, into Spaine, & staied a whole winter in the citie of Taragon: which in those auncient times, was the moste strong, riche, & also most esteemed in all Spaine. When the Emperour Octavius did conquer Cantabria, he did builde in Taragon, a most noble house, which by the antiquitic therof was much decayed: y emperour Adrian at his owen cost, comaunding to be reedified in such wise, y by repairing the decayed edificies, he renued there y name of Romanes. The imperiall house being made, Adrian kept court there with all the mightie and noble men of Spaine: where and with whome he made manye and god lawes: and in

„ especiall, he commaunded that the father whiche had but one sonne, shoulde commit the same vnto the warres, if he had twaine, the second shoulde be committed vnto science, and the thirde shoulde learne some occupation in the comon wealth.

The Spaniardes complained, that the shippes of Italie did transport many thinges out of Spaine, that is to saye, golde, siluer, silke, oyle, yarne, wheate, and wine: and out of Italie, they brought nothing into Spaine: whereupon Adrian commaunded, that no straunge ship shoulde lade any thing out of Spaine. Adrian gaue greate rewardes vnto many, and some for company, he caused to goe with him, and others some he gaue offices bothe by sea and land, of great honour: and generally, he gaue money vnto all cities, to repaire their decayed walles, in suchwise, that all Spaine, of him, helde them selues right well contented. There in Taragon, Adrian walking alone in a garden, by chaunce, a young man being madde, brake forth vppon him with sworde drawne: Adrian, although without armour, did take away his sworde, without commaundement of correction, either to him or his maister, & also with great pitie, prouided for his cure: of which ded Adrian was praised for valiant and pitifull. Also in the prouince of Taragon, they had cotion for their bounds, wherein Adrian prouided to plant lande markes of stone, after the maner of pillars, to the ende, that they shoulde neither be stolne or chaunged.

## CHAP. XI.

¶ Howe Adrian did passe into Asia, and of the things that chaunced there.

All the prouinces of Spaine being visited, Adrian made his nauigation, by the sea Mediterrane vnto the Isle of Sicyl, where he mounted the hill Aetna, to behold the marueilous thinges therein contained: from whence he

des-

descended more in feare and abashed, then either inferre-  
ted or satisfied. Adrian being descended from the hill Aetna, astonied, wearied and also derided, staid not in that kingdom, but to visite the workes of the god Tra-  
iane, which he did amplifie with tuyldinges, and indued with patrimonies. Adrian being resident in Sicyl, vnder-  
stoode that Asterlike the greatest lord of Germanie was  
dead, in whose place he presently created a king, whom he  
sent to gouerne the same, bothe well received, and better  
obeyed: bycause the Germanes helde them selues escan-  
daled, in that they had not kinges to gouerne them, but  
Consuls to challice them.

The Mauritans, and the Numidians being divided in cruell dissencion, and vnderstanding that Adrian was in Sicyl, readie to passe into Africa: amongst them selues they cut off all causes of warre, and concluded an assured peace. At that time also the Parthians soudainly did arme them selues, came into the fielde, made captaines, and fortiffid their frontiers: and brought their seigniorie to be ouer the Romaines, and not the Romaines ouer the Parthians. Adrian being aduertised of this commotion, prepared a greate armie to passe into Asia, and also did write vnto the Parthians, giuing to vnderstand, that he helde them as his friendes, and the Senate esteemed them as brethren, and not as vassals: Wherewith the Barbarians were so muche satisfied, that presently they left their armour, and proclaimed peace throughout the lands. Not-  
withstanding, he was aduertised of the Parthians retire, he alwayes continued his nauigation into Asia: and de-  
scended first in Achaia, and entred Elusin, a famous citie of that prouince: and leading a great armie, & possessing but little money, he seazed the sacred thinges of the tem-  
ples, saying, that he didit not, as a Romain Prince, but as a Grecian: for that Hercules and Philip being Grecie  
Princes, had first done and attempted the same. He a-  
fone did enter the temples of Asia, which was helden for  
great valiantnesse: because without armour, he entred a-

G.III.

mong

mongest the armed Priesters; and being demanded, why he wold enter to robbe thysse temples alone and unarm'd, ayswered: because, from our barbarous enimies we take by violence, but from the Gods by request.

Adrian departed also unto Athens, and curiously did consider the order of their studies, and the maner of their life; and saide, that in Athens, there was nothing perfect, bpt Agonata the swyde playere: because he had greater readinesse and skill to playe with the sworde, then the Philosophers in teaching Sciences: Whiche notwithstanding, he did greatly honour the Philosophers: and to some townes, he gaue great liberties: from thence, he returned to Rome, where he stayed but to visite, to honour, and also to bewaile and mourne vpon the tymbre of Plotina, whiche being finished, Adrian againe went into Sicyl, and from thence into Africa, where he did visit many townes and cities, redidde certeine buylodinges, banished divers Numidians, and also Mauritans, for their mutinies. From thence he did passe once more into Asia, freight vnto Athens, where he fipished a certeine templa which he had begonne, dedicating y same vnto the God Jupiter, wherein he did ingraue the Image of Traiane, & did paint with his owne handes the figure of Plotina, his mooste especiall souerigne ladye and mistresse. The greatest exercise that Adrian did vse in Asia, was in buylodging, repairing, and consecrating temples: wherein he did place his name, and paint with the pencil, or else in Alabaster did graue his figure.

Adrian feasted and made a greate banquet vnto king Cosdroe, at that tyme king of Parthians, & also did restore him his daughter, which was committed for hostage vnto the god Traiane, and a litter curiously wrought with siluer, golde and Unicorne, and gaue him also many other iewels. Many kinges of Asia and other greate Princes, came to visite and to honour Adrian, who gaue them all so noble enterteinment, and so highly rewardeed them, that greate was the honour and magnificence he obtained amongest

mongest them. Plorasinatho King of the Albans refusinge to visite the Emperour Adrian, and to rende the league made betwixt him and the god Traiane: not many dayes after, Adrian wanted not occasion to dispossesse him of his estate, and to banishe him all Asia, constrained thereby to craue vpon his knees, which wold haue been giuen him, sitting in his chayre. Adrian, traveiling and iourneying throughout Asia, visiting his presidentes, procurors, and chiefe officers, finding amonst them faultes of great exorbitantie, did punishe the lante with mooste ernell chastisementes. The cause is not vniuenen of the displeasure, that Adrian did beare vnto Antioche, whiche hatred was so greate, that he trauailed to deuide Syria from Phicenia, to the ende that Antioche shoulde not be the head of so many provinces. Visiting also the whole countrie of Arabia, he came vnto the renowned citie of Pelusio, desirous to visite the sepulture of the great Pompeius, whiche he remuued and enriched, and also did offer greate and sumptuous sacrifices in the honour of the great Pompeius, wheres of the Romaine people being aduertised, received no small delight. He did not onely honour the sepulture of Pompeius, but also gaue greate rewardes vnto the people of Pelusio, because they had that sepulchre in reuerence, placing vpon the sepulchre with his owne handes this verse as followeth: Osta viri magni, tenui quam clara sepulchro.

Howe small a tumbre of lime and stones,

Conteines a valiant warriours bones.

¶ Of the great liberalitie that Adrian vsed, and some cruelties that he com-

mitted.

¶ One of the thynges, wherin the Emperour Adrian deserved most iustly to be praised was, whal thē he vseod

great

great magnificence and liberalitie: for that naturally, in receiving he was a niggard: but in giving very bountifull. There was not ever any thing demaunded, that he gaue not: if it were not prevented by some others suite, whch always he did recomfort with hope for time to come. The rewardes of his noblenesse, was the gift of townes, cities, castles, Provinces, kingdomes, mountaines, riuers, flocks or heardes, salt marshes, miles, offices: and not only such as hapned in the gouvernement of the common wealth: but also he gaue the horses out of his stable, the garments for his person, the prouision for his dispences, and the money for his chamber: in such wise, that to deliver others from necessarie, he brought him selfe in to want of prouision. Adrian in his life was noted of divers weakneses and defections, which were both colour'd and couered, with his large and bountifull giftes. Great were the rewardes that he gaue unto Epitius, and Eliodorus philosophers: but much more was his liberalitie towardes Phauoritars, bycause he both gaue him great goddes, and honour in the common wealth. His custome was, when he sent for any to serue him in the warres, to give him al things necessarie for y same, that is to say, ar-  
mour to fight, & money to spend. Adrian being aduertised of a noble gentleman of Numidia, named Malacon, a man both valiant & warlike: who refusing to receiue the usuall rewarde that Adrian gaue unto such as did accompanie him in warres, sayde unto him: It is more reason that I shoulde preuent this, in doing mine office, then thou shouldest precede me in doing thy dutie: which is to say, that before thou beginne to fight, I shoulde beginne to gratifie thee: for in the end, it is much more that thou doest for me, in aduenturing thy life, then I in reboording thee with my gods. Many times Adrian would boast him selfe, that he coulde never remember that he had eaten alone, but always did eat in the companie of Philosophers that disputed in Philosophie: eyther else of captaines, that did talke and conferre in matters of warre.

He was neate in his apparell, curious and delicate in his diet. Examining the order of the diet of his housholde, and finding the prouision prouided for the honour there of, to be imbeziled and purloyned by officers, he com-  
maunded them to be whipt, and turned out of his gates: for notwithstanding, he had a noble mynde, to gaine a Pro-  
vince for a reward, he had not patience to suffer or endure, the deceit or stealth of a pennie. Adrian was a man both  
seuere, gladsome, graue, courteous, pleasant, suffering,  
rashe, patient, furious, a sauor, liberall, a dissimbler, pitifull, & cruell: finally, he was variable in his vices, and in-  
constant in vertues: bycause he did not long absteine from  
euill, eyther long continue in doing god. Adrian vnto  
his friendes, was bothe gratefull and enkinde: that is to  
say, he gaue them much gods, and did not much esteeme  
their honour. Great inconuenience did followe the Em-  
perour Adrian, for his infidelitie and want of faith vnto  
his friendes: which did most clearly shewe it selfe in Ta-  
tianus, Nietus, Seuerus, and Septicius: whom at one time  
he helde for friends, & after did persecute them as enimies.  
Eudemius a noble Gentleman of Rome, he was so great a  
frend with Adrian, that he offered sacrifices vnto the gods  
to give him the Empire: and after Adrian did beare him  
so great hatred, that he did persecute him, not onely to cast  
him out of Rome, but also vntill he had brought him to ex-  
treme povertie. Polenus and Marcellus, were of Adrian  
so euil handled and persecuted, that they chose rather to  
dye with their owne handes: then to live vnder his go-  
uernement. Eliodorus, a most famous man in letters,  
both Greke and Latine, was not onely of Adrian per-  
secuted, but also put to death, and torn in pieces: whose  
death was much bewailed for that he was profitable vnto  
the whole comon wealth. Olvidius, Quadratus, Catalius, &  
Turbon, auncient Consuls, were by Adrian persecuted,  
although not put to death, bycause every one seeking to  
sauve his life, were banished Rome and all Italie. The no-  
ble Consul Seuerianus, husbande vnto Sabina, sister vnto

„ Adrian, of the age of a hundred and ninetie yeares, was constrained to dye, for no more, but for that he had reported to haue liued the death of thirtene Emperours, & that if Adrian should dye first, it should make vp the number of xiiiij. the which, when Adrian vnderwoode, he rather determined to take him from amongst the living, then he should reckon him amongst the deade. In all things Adrian was very wel learned: that is to say, reading, writing, singing, painting, fighting, hunting, playing, and disputing: but that he had therewith a tache or a fault: which was, that if he knewe muche, he presumed much, wherein he was noted of all men, bycause he scorneed all men. After he entered into Aegypt, he gaue him selfe vnto Astrologie: and held for custome yearely to write out of that science, of al things that should happen that yeaer: which also he did in the yeaer that he dyed, but obtained not the knowledge thereof.

Adrian in one thing did seeme to excell, in that he never desired the knowledge of any facultie, art, or science: but that he procured to be singular. He ouercame many warres with armes, but he did appease and cut off many more with qistes: because vnto divers peoples, cities, and townes, he gaue libertie and pruileges, and to his Lords and viceroyes, he gaue great rewardes. Although in some particular things, touching both friendes and enimies, he shewed him selfe both affectionate, and also passionate: vniuersally, as touching the weale of the common welth, Adrian was alwayes friend in ministering justice. When there happened any graue matters, at the souden, he wold furiously be altered: but at the time of iudgement and determination, seriously he did both consider & examine them. He did silvome determine matters without counsel, and to this end chiesly vsed the aduice of Siluius and Neratius, the most learned of that age, and approued by the Senate. Naturally, he was of an unquiet heart, and of condition intermedling. It did happen vnto him many times in reading of histories, when he found of any place or con-

trie, that was possessed of any extremite, or singularitie, that he could not come to the viewe thereof, with extreme desire, he did many times groane both sickle and sorrowfull. Notwithstanding he was large and of great magnanimitie with Philosophers, with countries, with men of warre, and with his friends: much more was his magnificeunce to the ministers of iustice: and being demanded of Fauorinus, why he was so boüiful vnto them, answered: I make the ministers of iustice riche: bycause, by robberie of iustice, they shall not make other men poore.

## CHAP. XII.

Of the lawes that Adrian made.

Many and right necessarie lawes were made by Adrian, whiche were approued by the Senate, and received of the common wealth, and long time obserued. He did ordeine, that if any man would remoue from one citie to an other, that at his owne libertie he might sell his house, but not to aduenture to pull it downe, eyther to sel or make profite of the stusse therof: because the authorite of a common wealth is impayred, when the buildings be ruined. He did also ordeine, that when any man was condemned to dye for offences of great enormtie, and his goddes confiscate, that his children shoulde enjoy the tenth part of those goddes: in suche wise, that soz that, whiche was taken from them, they had to bewaile the offence of their fathers, and for that which was given them, they shoulde feele, and also commende the clemencie of the Prince.

Also there were certaine cases forbidden, in whiche if any man did fall, or incurre, he was accused as if he had committed great treason agaist the estate Royall of

of the Prince : all whiche Adrian did remoue and adnihilate : affirming, that those lawes, were but of small seruice, to the behoife of the Prince, and to the great offence of the common wealth. Also the Romaine Princes did vse to inherite the gods of straungers: wherin Adrian did ordeine, that the children, or the next of the kinne shoulde inioye the same. Also he ordeined, that what so ever he were, that founde hid treasure, in his owne inheritaunce, shoulde inioy the whole : and if it were founde in an other mans inheritaunce, the owner thereof shoulde haue the one moitie : and if it were founde in publike or common place, that then it should be equally parted with the Confiscator. Also he ordeined, that no man what so ever, of his own authoritie shoulde kill his slaye, for any offence: but to be remitted unto the Judge, deputed by the Prince. Also he made a lawe of refourmation, both for eating of superfluous meates, and also for wearing of garments, eyther too many, or over costly. Also he did ordeine, that none what so ever, shoulde goe or be carried in a litter: and one whiche he had, he commaunded for example, to be burnt, in the market place. He also commaunded that Consuls, and Senatours, within the compasse of Rome, shoulde weare their gownes, whiche was a garment of peace. He also ordeined, that yong men that wanted their parentes, shuld haue tutors vnto the age of five and twentie yeares: althoough they were married. He also did ordeine, that no slaye shoulde be solde, eyther man or woman, to any ruffian, iester, or iuggler: affirming the possession of slaves, to be most vnius, vnto such as wander in idlenesse all the dayes of their life. Also he did ordeine, that merchants, or such as dealt with exchaunge, that brake their credite, or were bankrupts without iust cause, but only of couetousnesse, by defraude to enrich them selues: to be set vpon the pilozie in the market place, and afterwardes to be banished Rome for evermore. He did ordeine, that none what so ever, shoulde suffer execution within the citie of Rome: affirming, that so generous a citie, and consecrate vnto the

Gods, were not conuenient to be deslled with the bloude of wicked men. Also he did ordeine, that men and women shoulde haue their severall bathes, and that who so ever shoulde enter into the forbidden place, to suffer death for the same. Also he did ordeine, that neyther for the Prince or Consuls, any victuals shoulde be taken from any man: but that every man might sell to whome he woulde, whare he woulde, and how he might. He did ordeine, that no woman shoulde aduenture to heale with words, eyther that any man shoulde presume to cure with compound medicines: but to perfourme all their cures, with simple hearbes. In buildings he did chiesly imitate his Lord Traiane: that is to say, that in all countries, Provinces, and kingdomes, whare he had bene, he erected many and very famous buildings: where in it is to be noted, that he never placed his owne name, but in the temple of Traiane. In Rome, in a manner he wholy renued the temple named Pantheus, dedicated vnto the Goddess Berecynta, and where all the Gods were honoured. The fielde of Mars in olde time was compassed, and by great antiquitie the buildings falle flat vnto the grounde: wherin Adrian did not only renue the decayed wals, but also did furnish y same w<sup>th</sup> very stately buildings. He edified the reall palace named Neptunus, he enlarged the palace of Augustus, he reedified the bath of Tyberius, he much aduaunced the temple of Titus: in all these edifices, he placed the names of the Princes that in times past built them, and not his owne name whiche had reedified them. From the foudation he built a stately bridge, which was afterwards named Adrians bridge. He made also for him selfe a sepulchre, ioyning vnto y river Tyber, y stones whereof were brought from India, and the workemen out of Greece. He translated the temple of the Goddess of good Fortune, and the figure of Decian the artificer that was placed therein: that was of so great weight, that hardly fourt & twentie Elephants might remoue y same: the whiche figure was dedicated vnto the Sunne: Adrian did erect one other to be dedicated vnto the Moon, of

of no lesse weight or riches then the other: whereof the great Polydore was workman. He built in Rome a certaine building, which many yeares after was named, the mole of Adrian: and at these dayes is called, the castle of Saint Angelo. He remoued many riuers out of their chanelles to water the fieldes, brought many fountaines, for prouision of cities. In Greece he edified a citie, which in time past, was named Adrianopolis. In the kyngdome of Palestyne, he reedified the great citie Hierusalem, which had bene velystroyed by Titus and Vespasian, and gave it for name, Elia, for that his owne name was Elius Adrianus.

## CHAP. X I I I .

Of some of his gratioues and pythic sentences.

The Emperour Adrian was a Prince, not only sharpe of iudgement, and prouident in his affaires, but also of great vurbanitie, and gratioues in speache. And the case was thus, that Fauorinus a very friende to Adrian, having an olde house, at the enterie whereof, he had rayled a stately porche paynated white, he sayde vnto him: This house of thine, seemeth a gilded pill, whiche outwardly giueth pleasure, but within is full of bitternes. An other friende of Adrians, named Siluius, very blacke of face, and of euill shape of body, and comming on a certaine day vnto the Palace, all clad in white: Adrian sayde vnto those that were present: That blacke face with that white garment, seemeth no other but a flye drowned in a sponefull of mylke. The Emperour Adrian, vpon a time from his Palace, behelde a Senatour, in a long blacke gowne, wearing vpon the same a shooke crimson cloake in graine:

and

and demaunding, why he did weare such apparell in that place; the Senatour answered. Syr, I walke here with this red cloake, to see if my good hap may chaunce to fish some faire Ladie. Wherevnto Adrian readily answered: Thou seemest rather a red worme to fish frogs, then as a man enamoured to fishe Ladies. A certaine person with a hoarie heade, craving a rewarde, whiche at that time the Emperour denied: the sayde hoare headed fellowe, remembryng him selfe, pouling his heade, and shauing his bearde, came againe vnto the Emperour, to renue his suite: and Adrian beholding howe he was altered, made fresh, and growne young, did answeare: That which now thou crauest, I denyed vnto thy father. They helde in Rome many fierce beastes, to magnifie a daye of greate feasting: and when certaine Senatours sayde vnto Adrian, that it was somewhat late, and highe time to go chace the beastes, he made answeare: Ye might better haue sayd, to be chaced of them, then the beastes to be chaced of men: for if there be ten that dare abide them, there be ten mylians that runne away.

There was in Rome, a certaine man named Enatius, somewhat entered in age, and of naturall condition, mutinous, ambitious, importune, intermedling, quarellous, & full of garboyle: and being aduertised that Enatius was deade, he fell into a greate laughter, and sware, that he could not a little maruell, howe he coulde intend to dye: considering his great busynesse both night and daye. A certaine auncient citizen comming vnto the Emperour Adrian, for certaine suites and causes propounding his demaunde, and also replying an answeare without intermission, remouing without all manner, any meane for the Emperour to speake, answered: Friende, if thou feede on both cheekes, we may not eate both together: Surely, it was an answeare very fayre, and of great vurbanitie: for, thereby he gave him to understande, that if he both propounde and answeare, he could not give him justice.

There

## The life of the

There was a Senatour in Rome, named Fabius Cato, of  
auncient yeares, and amongst the people, in great credite :  
but loyntly therewith he was a man of a small stature,  
which would soone be offended, and as soone be pleased: vnto  
to whome on a time Adrian sayde: Since your chimney  
is so small, you must beware to lay much wood vpon the  
fire: for otherwise it will be alwayes smoakie.

## CHAP. XV.

Of the thinges that he did woor-  
thy prayse, and some other  
things worthy dis-  
praise.

The Emperour Adrian, did vse and intreate such as did serue him, very well and with great affection: but he might not indure them, to presume to be ouer prynce: for he would say, that he held them not to command him, but to serue him: and grewe not a little displeased, with such as were not moderate in their deedes, and courteous in their wordes. Being in Spaine in the citie of Taron, he behelde in a garden, one of his meane seruaunts, walking betwixt two Senatours: vnto whome he commaunded to be giuen a great blowe, with this aduertisement: The Emperour commandeth this blow to be giuen thee, bycause thou shalt be ashamed to presume to walke, with such as thou art bound to serue. In his dyet he was neyther temperate, much lesse a gormound that vsed excesse: for that he left not to eate of any thing, in respect of health, or vertue: but without dyet, did eate, both what and whē he liked. In wine he had a god rellish, and at times dranke thereof so frankly, that he hindered the health of his person, and also the credite of his fame. There was in his dayes great earthquakes, pestilences, dearth, and hunger: in which calamities, he shewed him selfe a pitifull Prince, and of great magnanimitie: bycause in time of hunger, he gaue

## Emperour Adrian.

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gane the people wherewith to be sustaine, and in time of earthquakes, money to redisse. He discharged many citie of their whole tributes, and to others some part he released: in suche wise, that in all his Empire there was no citie, that newly received not, some benefite at his hande, eyther deliuered not from some olde payment. In the firste yeaer of his Empire, the riuier Tyber did so overslowe, that thē dayes damage thereof, was not repayzed in thre yeaers. He was of the men of warre much feared, for that he did chastise them: and no lesse beloued, bycause he did pay them. The chiefe cause, of his great prayse in Chronicles, or of writers of histories, and the tender affection that the Romaines did beare him, proceeded, that in time of peace, he helde his men of warre in great civilitie: and in time of warre, he gouerned the common wealth, as if it had beene in peace. Alwayes when the Senatours repayred vnto him, eyther to eate, or for affaires, he did alwayes entertaine them standing: and if they were Consuls, he came forwth to receiue them, and if they were Judges, he did rise when they came before him: and if they were officers of the Senate, he would somewhat stoupe or nod with the head: in suche wise, that with all, he vsed greate courtesie: and in speache and conference, no lesse vrbanitie. To repaire temples, to prouide priestes, and to offer sacrifices, he was a Prince both carefull and diligent: and loyntly therewith it is to be noted, he consented not to the inuention of newe deuices, and muche lesse did he admit straunge customes.

## CHAP. XVI.

Whome Adrian did adopt to succeede  
him in his Empire:

After the Emperour Adrian had trauelled in a manner throughout the world, by sea and lande, and passed both colde and heate, he fell into a grieuous sicknesse: he

himselfe, giuing occasion therof, for that in his dyet, either in the time of heate, or colde, did sildome or hardly vse any order. Presently vpon his sicknesse, his heart was touched with great care, vpon the determination, whon he shold adopt to the succession of the Empire: bycause many did followe him, that did much desire it, but verie fewe that did deserue it. The death of Seuerian, Dion doth report, was after this manner. Adrian on a certaine daye at his dinner, sayd vnto the Consuls that late at his table: I would haue you name me ten men, in science learned, and sincere of life: vnto one of which I may command, after my dayes, the estate of the common wealth. They all vsing silence vnto that demand, Adrian sayd: reckon me but nine, for I haue one, and such a one, as is my brother in lawe, Seuerian: for that he hath both age, and grauitie, After a fewe dayes, that these things did passe, Adrian being in great daunger through a flurie of bloude, that brake forth without ceasing at his nose: doubting that first his life shoulde haue finished, before the bloude woulde haue staunched: did point with his finger, Lucius Cōmodus to be his successor. And after recovering moze health, he was aduertised, that Seuerian and Fuscus his nephewe, continued murmuring, at that whiche he had commaunded: and that vnto him the Empire was not directed: Adrian beganne to disdaine and abhore him with great hatred. This Seuerian of the age of ninetie yeares, Adrian comauaded to be slaine: bycause he set him selfe in the imperiall chaire, and gaue vnto such as were in fauour with the Emperour, a solemne supper, and bycause in secrete, he had conference with the capteines of warres. Besoore that Seuerian dyed, hee determined to haue given the Empire vnto the Consul Fuscus, which was his nephewe: but when Adrian vnderstoode, that Fuscus had conference with Magicians and Soothsayers, to be aduertised, if he shold introy the Empire, he put him to death: in suchs wise, that he both lost the inheritance, and also his life. Pletorius Metus, came to visite Adrian in his sicknesse: which

which being his great frend, he would neither haere nor see: because he did imagine, þ he came not to visite, but to inherite. Gentian the Consul, a noble and auncient Romaine, also he persecuted, for no other cause, but for that he vnderstoode, he was both liked and honoured of the Senate: and that all men did hope hee shoulde succeede him in the Empire. The Emperour Adrian did never shewe him selfe so cruell in his life, as he did somewhat before his death: bycause all thole that he thought, did hope to succeede him in the Empire, he commaunded to be banished or slayne. Being sickle in a village, named Tiburtina, of a flurie of bloude, wher he remained many dayes bothe desperate, vrulyn, and out of temper: for that he had no patience, to thinke that he shoulde dye, and an other shoulde succeede him.

There was alwayes some vnikindnesse betwixt him, and the emperesse Sabina, but in the end, Adrian vsed such skill, that serretly he gaue poyson vnto his wife Sabina, whereby she finished his life, and he lost his suspition. When Adrian perceived that of necessitie he must needs dye, and that an other must haue his Empire, he appoyned Cenoio for his successor, sonne in lawe vnto Niger: and this he did against the mindes of all them whiche did serue him, and also of all such as did best loue him: because many others seemed to be of moze deserving, and also of moze abilitie to gouerne the Empire. Unto this Cenoio he gaue the name of Elio vero Caesar: and to the ende it should be gratesfull vnto the people, and confirmed of the Senate: he gaue them the Circen playes, which was vnto them very acceptable, & did distribute throughout Rome, foure thousand Herterties. Presently vpon the adoptiō of Cenoio, he gaue him the Pretourship, he placed him besoore the Pannoniae, which were admitted to goe next his person, did create him the second time Consul, did set him at his owne table, and did permit to accompanie him in the litter: finally, Adrian did intreate him as his sonne, and all did serue him as their Lord.

Pis.

Present.

Presently after that, Cenoio was adopted, he fell sick, of the disease of death: in such wise, as he had not leisure to give thankes unto the Senate: whereof Adrian being aduertised, sayde unto the Senate: Vnto a weake wall were we staied, that day when Cenoio was elected. Cenoio dyed in the Balends of Januarie, for which cause he was not bewailed of the people: for that moneth being dedicated unto the God Janus, no Romaine durst bewaile the dead, eyther vther any sorrowes for the living. Adrian finding him selfe more oppressed with infirmitie, did adopt and declare Antoninus Pius his successour: vpon condition, that he should adopt the god Marcus Aurelius, and his brother Annus Verus. The adoption of Antoninus, was displeasant vnto som, but especially vnto Attilius Seuerus who with great care did sollicite the Empire for him selfe: and at that time being Prefect of the citie, some he did corrupt with money, and some with faire promises: but Adrian being aduertised of y web that Attilius had in hande, did not commaund him to be slaine, but to be banished all Italie.

## CHAP. XVII.

Howe and where the Emperour  
Adrian dyed.

On the day that Adrian commaunded the olde Seuerian to be put to death, before the executioner came to cut his throte, in a vessel he put certaine eddes, adding ther unto some incense, lifting vp his eyes vnto heauen, he said: You immortall Gods I take to witnesse, if I be culpable wherein I am accused, and for which this daye I am condemned and put to death, and ioynly therewith I request and beseech you, that in testimonie of my innocencie, ye give me no other reuengement: but that when Adrian shall desire to dye, he may not dye.

From the time that the Consul Seuerian was executed, Adrian never enjoyed one day of health, but many times desired to dye, and sought occasions to kyll him selfe: but

but Antoninus Pius understanding thereof, commaunded him to be guarded by daye, and watched by night. Being assayled with extreme infirmitie, and not able eyther to eate, or sleepe, he many times sought venome to drinke, sometimes he would haue a knife to kill him selfe, sometimes he wold not eate, by pure hunger to hasten his death: whereof the Senate being aduertised, they did humbly craue, that it might please his excellencie, to haue patience in that infirmitie, since the Gods were pleased to lengthen his life. Adrian was much despited, with this suite of the Senate: and so much displeased with him that sayd it, that he should be taken and put to death. Adrian had a Barbar named Mastor, both faithfull and valiaunt, that did attend on his person when he did hunt, being his auncient seruaunt: whom he did most instantly desire, and secretly threaten, to dispatch him of his life: but the barbar being terrified, to heare such wordes, fled out at gates. By chaunce he recovered a knife into his handes, wherewith he would haue dispatched himselfe; but by force it was taken from him, but therewith and from thence forwarde, moze desirous to dye, and his life moze hatefull vnto him. Adrian had also a Physician boorne in Africa, this man he did most instantly request, to minister vnto him some poison, to finish his sorrowful and most wretched life: so hatefull vnto him selfe: but the Physician was so faithfull vnto his lord, & not able to resist the suit of his souereigne, determined to drinke y same, & to die, Adrian holding him selfe, for y most unforuntat, & the extremest wretch in distresse, that so much desired death, and could not but live: & most truly y suit of Seuerian vnto the gods, was most throughly perfourmed in him: that is to say, that they woulde enlarge his life, when he should desire to dye. Antoninus Pius being now declared, and confirmed for Cesar, and Adrian every day finding him selfe to growe in weaknessse, departed from Rome, vnto the port of Baias, where he remained, vsing many experiences in medicines and Physick: which for his health did little profit, and to shorten his

his life, gaue some assistaunce. Adrian dyed in that port of Baia, the sixt day of July: and was buried in a village named Ciceroniana. He liued threescore and two yeares, and reigned one and twentie yeares, sixe monethes, and xixene dayes. Before Adrian dyed, he commaunded this verse to be placed vpon his sepulchre. *Turba medicorum, Regem interfecit.* Which is to say, The Emperour Adrian by trusting Phyisicians, gaue so hastic an end vnto his yeares.

*The life of the Emperour Antoninus Pius, compiled by Syr*

Anthonic of Gueuara, Bishop of Mō-  
donedo, Preacher, Chronicler,  
& Counseler vnto Charles  
the fifte.

CHAP. I.

¶ Of the lineage and countrie of the Emperour Antoninus Pius.



¶ He naturall countrie of the Emperour Antoninus Pius, was of Gallia Transalpina, whiche is as muche to say, of sweete Fraunce: and was boorne in a citie named Nemesa, whiche from the time of Iulius Caesar, was established a Colonell of Rome. His grandfather was named Titus Fulvius, a man both generous and valiant, who in the times that Iulius Caesar did conquer Fraunce, did vtter his greate parcialitie in the behalfe of the Romaine Empire: for whiche cause after the warres were ended, he came to Rome. Titus Fulvius in passing into

into Italic, and settling in Rome, had happy and great successe: for the Fathers of the Senate, besides their recompence for seruice, they made him a citizen of Rome. He had suche skill to profite him selfe by that libertie, and proved so cunning to content the people, that within the space of fourre yeares, he was twice Consul, once Gouvernour of the citie, and once Judge: in suche wise, that his vertue was more beneficall then others, to be naturall of the countrie.

The father of Antoninus Pius, was named Fulvius Aurelius: a man vertuous and learned, and nolesse then his grandfather Titus, was twice Consul: his grandmoother of the mothers side, was named Bobinia, and the father of his mother, whiche was, Arrius Antoninus, was no lesse esteemed in the Romaine Empire, then was his other grādfather: for he was Judge two yeres, Master of the horſe men one yeaer, Tribune of the people another yeaer, and in the ende, two times Consul. This Arrius Antoninus, was a great persecuter of Domitian, a great friende of Nerua, and verie priuate with Traiane: whiche when he perceiued Nerua to accept the Empire being so olde, he had greate compassion of him, and sayde these wordes: My friende Nerua, I giue thee to vnderstande, eyther it is some cursse from thy predecessours, or some vengeaunce that the Goddes will take of thee: since they permitte thee to take the Empire, and at the time of most neede, to haue counsell, they deprive thee of thy sound and good iudgement.

The god olde Nerua, did so sensibly feele these wordes, spoken by his friende Antoninus, that had it not beene by the great importunitie of Traiane, he had presently renounced the Empire: which if he had done, as afterwards he did, he had not erred: bycause his age was too greate, and his strength but weake. Antoninus Pius had a father in lawe, named Iulius Lupus, which long time was a Senator, that desired not to beare office, but with his patrimonie to liue in quietnesse.

## The life of the

Antoninus Pius married with the daughter of Annius Verus, who was named Annia Faustina, a woman of exceeding beautie, and this was mother unto the famous Faustina, wife unto the great Emperour Marcus Aurelius. Antoninus Pius, and Faustina his wife had two sonnes, which died in their youth: and also two daughters, of which the elder was married unto the Consul Sillanus, which also died in their youth. The second daughter (as the mother) was named Faustina, & married unto Marcus Aurclius, in whome the succession of the Empire did remayne. Antoninus Pius had but one sister, named Iulia Facilla, whome he tenderly loued: not onely, for that he had no more, but because they were twinnes and borne both at a birth. Antoninus Pius was borne the xiiii. daye of October, at a certeine place named Laurina: which afterwardes he did nobilitate with stately buyldinges; and indued with great priuileges, and also did amplifie the boundes therof, which were but shrot and narrowe. In the moste time of his infancie, he was nourished with his fathers fater: and being more entred into yeres, he continued with his other graund fater by the mothers side: and was so vertuous and so well inclined, that he was pleasing unto all men, and beloued of all persons: he attaiued to be knownen unto all his grandfathers both of fater and mother, who all fixed their eyes vppon Antoninus, as well to inuest him with learning, as to endue him with riches and wealth: for, as he afterwards reported of them, they vsed to saye, that they fauoured him more for his vertue, then for affinitie. With his graundfathers he learned both tonges of Greeke and Latine, he gaue him selfe more to Cosmographie, then to any other science, and did muche delight to talke with men of straunge nations, to giue them to understande, that he did knowe all the particularities of their countries, by science, as they did by experience. Being so intirely beloued of his graundfathers, they helde him always in company with Philosophers: who of his owne natural condition, delighted not, but

## Emperour Anton. Pius. 121

but in the company of the vertuous: whereof it proceded, that after he became so cruell an enimie vnto the wicked, and so perfect a friend vnto good men. The customes and companies that Princes do take in their youth: they loue and followe afterwardes when they be men.

## CHAP. II.

¶ Of the inclination, proportion, and naturall fashion of his bodie.

Antoninus Pius was of an high stature, slender and very streight, his eyes somewhat outward, black hayre, thicke beard, white, rare, and gaptoothed, his face white, merrie, gladsome, and faire, in such wise, that he did rather prouoke, to be loued, then feared. Naturally, he was of great health: his teeth excepted, which he lost before he came to age. When a certeine cunning man made offer to be bound to place him tētē the wherewith to speake and eate: Antoninus made him aunsweare: Since never from my harte proceeded fained or double woords; there shall never enter into my mouth, countefete teeth. The want of his teeth, made him to eat with paine, and stutter in his speeche. Being touched with a pester for his stammering, Antoninus aunswered: I recke not greatly to stumble in wordes, so that I erre not, and stand vp right in deedes. In Rome there was a Senatour named Taurinus, liberall in speeche, and not sober in diet, who reproving Antoninus for that his teeth failed him, bothe to eate and speake, aunswering, saide: I consent to that, which thou saiest: for that I, if I woulde, may not be a glutton: but thou maist, and wile not leue to be malicious. Many Princes did excell Antoninus Pius in science, but none did matche him in eloquence: for that ordinarily, he did talke in the Latine tongue, & did dispute in the Greeke. He was naturally very well conditioned, which had in him mosse appearance, for that alwayes his wordes were

were without malice, and his thoughtes without susppcion. Although he were of complexion cholericke sanguine which gineth men occasion to be ralhe and soudain, it had no place in Antoninus Pius, for that he was constant in aduersities, and patient in iniuries. When in his presence they saide any wordes that did grieue or offend him, or brought him any sorrowfull newes: in biting of his lipp, in casting downe his eyes, and laying one hand vpon another, they vnderstood his great sorrow: but ioyntly herewith, he was never scene of any man, soudainly to chaunge countenaunce, muche lesse to speake any cruell or injurious wryde. Before he was Emperour, he was the welthiest man of all the Empire: for that he did inherite from his fourre grandfathers, greate and ample patrimonies: unto whome he was sole inheritor. He was giuen to gather, conserue and augment his goddes, riches and wealth, but without all oppresion to any person, for that he liued onely of himselfe, defrauding no man of his suite. After he obtainede the Empire, when by chaunce any talke was moued of the covetousnesse of men, and of the necessitie of Princes, many times he woulde saye: I giue thankes to the immortall Gods, that since I haue beene Emperour, I haue not taken any thing from any man; either before, that euer I was benighted with debt.

He had great affection to the workes of the fielde, and therein had not onely the tooles and thinges necessarie for the purpose: that is to saye, buskes, oxen, cartes, ploughes, but he him selfe would be occupied in sowing corne, cutting vines, pruning treas, and at times would take the plough, and make a dozen of furrowes. He was extreme in nothing, but that in, and for all thinges, he placed him selfe in the middest: which he did very well discouer in the governement of his person and estate: wherein, neither for his prodigall expence, he was noted proude: either for want of a noble minde, esteemed a niggard. Many times the Heauens being cleare, and a settled faire weather in appearance, he would saye: vpon suche a daye wee shall haue

haue raine, or chaunge of weather, wherein he neuer erred: and mayye times did aduonche, that the knowledge thereof proceded not of science, either of Philosophie, but of certeine experiences, which he gathered, when he vsed the labour of the fielde. When on a certeine time, with his knife he was pruning of a plumb tree in his orcharde ioyning vnto the high way, a Senatour saide vnto him: since you are an Emperour, ceasse to vse the office of a labourer, vnto whome Antoninus aunswere: it is lesse euil for an Emperour to prune trees in his orcharde, then to consume lost time in his palace. He was very acontente to that which was saide, and curiously he did consider, what others did: chievely to the ende to attaine knowledge: for that naturally, he was sharpe and of delicate iudgement. He was alwayes occupied, either in reading, studying, disputing, or doing somethinge with his handes: and wherein he wanted skill, he disdained not to craue to be taught. Alwayes for the more parte, he went bare headed, through much heate he had therein: and one aduising him, the ayre of Rome to be very hurtfull, and therefore right necessarie to haue his head couered, aunswere: assure me from troubles of men on earth, and I am assured that nothing shall offend me, whiche the Gods shal send me from Heauen. He was of him selfe excellent in Musike, delighted therein, and a greate friende to Musicians. Antoninus Pius, was suche and so god, that all heartes did loue him, all youngs did praise him, and all suche as did not knowe him, but by reporte, had him in admiration: finally, he was compared vnto Numa Pompilius, because in him there were not more vertues to be desired, either one onely vice to be reprehended.

The life of the  
CHAP. III.

The workes of pietie which he did, and the cause, why he was intituled Antoninus Pius.

Annius Verus, father of the first Faustine, and father in lawe unto Antoninus Pius, became so olde, that he was not able to sit on hozelbacke, either to go on fote, but that he was led and staide by the arme, to saye his opinion in the Senate: because, from olde putrifid men, ripe and sound counsels do proceede. Antoninus Pius beeing the man that delighted to leade his old father, did not onely giue him way in soule places, but in going vp of staires, did rather seeme to beare him, then leade him. Passing on a certeine day, and beholding an olde man named Julianus led vnto prison for debt, and understanding the cause, he presently payed the same, and added a wozke of more pite, that payde not onely all his debtes, but gaue him also to susteine him & his house. For that a penall lawe, prouided in that behalfe, that by iustice or otherwise, none shuld shew bloud within the compasse of Rome: for this cause at the gate Salaria, a place deputed for execution of offenders, and maisters also did there challice their seruaunts: and thus it chaunced, that Antoninus Pius, passing that way, found there, many slaves bounde and beaten moste cruelly: he conceiued so great pite, to see them so beaten without pite, that presently he bought them all: and the same daye he bought them, the verie same daye he made them free. From his youth it was his inclination to visite the sickie, and to accompany such as were in sorrowe, distresse, and out of comfort: wherein the god Antoninus did so muche vtter the grieve, that he had of their grieve, & he so muche sorrowed of their sorrowe, that no man did so sensibly feele his owne grieve, as he did bewaile the misfortune of others.

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An auncient Romaine widow, which had but one sonne, whose misfortune was to kill another young man, and being condemned to dye, the sorrowfull mother came lamenting, wailing, and crying vnto the Emperour Antoninus: with whome he did so earnestly and so grieuously wepe, as if it had beeene his owne sonne. And being aduertised by his friendes, and his moste speciall and priuate seruaunts, how euil it became him to wepe with and like a woman, answered: that sorrowfull woman came to craue helpe and succour for her sonne; and for that I may not reliue her with some remedie, I did alsost to bewaile her mischance.

The Romaines had a custome, to leaue the dead bodies of men executed in the fieldes: but Antoninus Pius was the first that gaue order for such bodies to be buried: affirming it sufficient, to take from men their lives, and not to feede beastes with their carcasses. From the time of the prouide Tarquine, the Romaines held for custome, to giue malefactours great tormentes: the god Antoninus did take away all tortures, wherwith the members of mans bodie was put in daunger: saying, that the torment was sufficient that were to challice, but not to dismember. Fabatus, Diocorus, Lipolus, Macrinus, Fulvius, Torquatus, Eucenius, Bruscos, and Emilius, whereof foure being Consuls, thre Judges, and two P<sup>r</sup>etors, and banished by Adrian, Antoninus gaue them all pardon: and for that many did mislike this deede, affirming it to be done to the prejudice of the same and memorie of Adrian, he aunswere: Adrian my Lorde did not erre in that which he then did: and I thinke I do not erre in that which I nowe doe: because then, he did it to profit him selfe by his iustice, as I nowe doe to obteine aduaantage by clemencie. Whether so ever he went, either in Rome or other places of Italic, weekely he did visite the prisoners, and the poore which he found there for debt, he commaunded the creditors with his owne money to be payde: and after that he had thre times paide for one man, and the fourth time found

found in prison for debt: he commaunded him to be deliuered vnto his creditour for his daue. A fewe dayes after this commaundement, his clemencie not able to endur so rigorous Justice: notwithstanding the sentence was molte tust, he prouided at his owne cost once more to buy and to give libertie vnto that poore man. As before recited, when Adrian was sick, and so distempered with his infirmitie, that some he commaunded to be taken, some banished, and some put to death: but Antoninus Pius being adopted Augustus, and being invested with the whole gouernement, did neither arrest, banishe, or kill them: but onely commaunded to absent them selues, and not to appere in his presence. Amongest all the notable workes of pietie that Antoninus did pessourme, was, that Adrian striuing and watching to kill him selfe, Antoninus did overwatche to preserue a liue: being molte trus according to sensualitie, he shoulde haue procured, and not haue given any impediment to haue finished his life: since vnto him, bothe house, gods, and estate shoulde succide.

The Senatours, & many other magistrates of Rome, did attempt to adualliate the lawes, and monumentes of Adrian: whiche Antoninus did most lissely denye, with stand and repulse: and in the ende not onely did cause all his actes to be ratified, confirmed, and allowed: but also did frame and bring to passe with the Senate, that Adrian shoulde be accompted amongst the Gods. He built in the honour of Adrian a molte solemne temple in a certeine place, named Pusoll, and did furnishe the same with Priesles to serue him, and endued them with rents to find them, and were commonly named Adrianis priests. In the honour of Adrian, he did institute certeine places, intituled Lustra, to be played euery fift yere, for the maintenaunce whereof, he gaue great rentes.

Before Adrian died, he had made for him selfe a sump-  
tudus sepulchre neare vnto the riuere Tiber, whether Antoninus brought him to be buried, and brought to  
passe

passe with the Senatours, and the people of Rome, to receive him with no lesse honour, then if he had bee a liue. No Prince had reigned in the Empire, that had not bee noted either cruell, or of small pietie, Antoninus Pius excepted: whoe with his tongue, never commaunded man to be slaine: either woulde euer firme sentence of death, or euer woulde beholde any man executed: because so greate was his clemencie, that he might not beholde the shedding of bloud.

## CHAP. III.

¶ Of the woordes that Adrian saide vnto the Senate, when he did adopt Antoninus Pius.

After that the Emperour Adrian was recovered of a certeine great surfeit, it hapned after wards as he late at his dinner, he was taken wth an incessant cough, wherof folloched a bleeding at the nose, in suche abundance, and with such continuance, that both him selfe, and others thought, first to haue scene him dead, yet the bloud woulde haue ceassed to ruite. Adrian perceiving, the greater that his flur of bloud did increase, so muche the more his life did shorten: desiring like a god Prince, to provide for the weale of his subiectes, commaunded all the Senatours, Consuls, and all other the notable officers of Rome to come before him, vnto whome he briesly saide certeine woordes, right worthie to be committed vnto memorie, as followeth.

## His Oration to the assemblie.

Fathers conscript, you see with greate certeintie, howe soudeinly and vnawares death hath assailed mee, and by howe small occasion I lose my life, Let mee be an example vnto you, and all men, and

and holde it for most certeine, that that parte of life is most times in peril, where of certeintie of life we had setled most affiance. Nature hath not graunted me to haue children of mine owne, but therefore I giue great thankes vnto the immortall Gods, because in deliuering mee from children, they haue discharged mee of greate and many cares. There goeth muche difference betwixt the ingendering, or the electing of a sonne: for the one proceedeth of necessitie, the other is elect at large, will, and libertie. The sonnes that nature giueth vs, are many times lame, filthie, and also foolishe: but such as wee adopt, wee elect them able, sound and discrete: for that no man is so imprudent which at the time of election, chooseth not the best. In time past, I elected Lucius, sufficienly knowen vnto you: but the destinies were so contrary vnto him, that before he had power to commande in the state of Rome, he was buried in his sepulchre: but now we haue elected Antoninus for your emperour, whoe wee promise you, shall proue milde, benigne, quiet, and mercifull: for that clemencie is as naturall vnto him, as it is vnto the Sunne to giue light by daye. He receiueth the Empire in a competent age, to the end ye feare not, by his too muche youth, to commit some rashe deede, either by too muche olde age, negligently to gouerne the common wealth: He hath beene bred and nourished in our own countrie, and therefore will obserue the customes thereof. Also his life hath been trained vnder our own lawes, vpon sufficient occasion to auoide all searche of vnnecessary lawes of straunge countries, and this you haue to regarde, not as a matter of small importance: because there is not any thing that more doeth offend the

the common wealth, then to infecte the same with straunge and vnused customes. He knoweth what thing it is to go on warrefare, to gouerne armies, to suffer both passions and motions of people, to vse clemencie with some, and to correct others: in such wise, that in him is conteined greate sufficiencie, for the gouernement of the common wealth, since in all thinges he hath experiance. Ye knowe him, and he knoweth you, ye haue dealt with him, and he hath dealt with you: & I hold of him such opinion, that he will neither despise you, either forget you: in such manner, that his obediencie shalbe vnto mee, as vnto a father, and shal deale with you in loue, like a brother. And I woulde that all you which be here present, as also all other persons in Rome, that vpon such condition I transferre the Empire, that after his dayes he leauie the same vnto Marcus Aurelius his sonne in lawe, and my seruaunt: and from henceforth, I sweare and protest, that these two elections shalbe acceptable vnto the Gods, and profitable vnto men. In credite, life, and science, Marcus Aurelius doth exceede Antoninus: but that hitherto Antoninus hath had more experiance: for which cause vnto him, the rather we haue commended the Empire, because, for the generall gouernement of any estate or common wealth, one yere of experiance is more worth then ten yeres of sciencie. I haue beene weake, carelesse and negligent, in many thinges of the common wealth, partly inforced therunto by the greatnessse of mine enimies, but for the recompence thereof, I do leauie two suche Princes one after the other, to gouerne the Empire, which for their singularitie in science and vertue, shall excell all that be past, and I.

I.i. doubt

## The life of the

doubt in equalitie, not to be matched with any their  
successours.

These wordes being saide by Adrian, he drewe a ring  
from his finger, and put the same vpon the finger of An-  
toninus Pius, and after that houre he was holden, serued,  
and obeyed as Romaine Emperour: notwithstandinge  
that Adrian liued some time after. Perfect was the elec-  
tion of the Emperour Nerua, in the god Traiane, and no  
leste of Traiane in the adoption of Adrian, and mosle lust  
of Adrian in the election of Antoninus Pius, and Marcus  
Aurelius, which fwe Emperours were such and so god,  
one after the other: which seemed a Prognostication, that  
the felicitie of Romaine Emperours, shold in them take  
an ende.

## CHAP. V.

¶ Of the offices that Antoninus helde before  
he was Emperour.

Before Antoninus Pius came vnto the height of h Em-  
pire, he did oft put forth his money to vslarie, but all  
the gaines of that trade, he spent in succouring the poore,  
and redemeing captiues. He was sent on a tyme by A-  
drian to visite the Isle of Sicyl: in which visitation he re-  
formed many people, chasticed many tyrants, deprived  
many officers, remoued many enimities, repaired rui-  
nous buildinges, did melt manye counterfeit coynes: but  
mosle of alt in such manner did gouerne the common  
wealth, that no man remained discontented.

He was iii. yeares Praetor within Rome, he was  
Consul in Campania, with Catilinus Seuerus, he was  
Judge thre yeres together, in al which offices he was ne-  
ver noted, either rashly in commaundements, or rigorous  
in his chalstements.

Adrian

## Emperour Anton. Pius. 131

Adrian diuided all Italic into fourie iurisdictions, pla-  
cing in every one a Consol for gouernement thereof, and  
established Antoninus supreme gouernour of them all: in  
such wise, that he helde such authoritie and credite, that  
in Roine all was gouerned by his counsell: and in Italic  
all did obey his commaundementes. Wile his person  
farre distant, alwayes Adrian and the Senate had his  
counsell present: the cause whereof proceeded of his cleare  
indgement, in the foundation of that whiche he saide: and  
through the bountie of his vertue, he frankly did speake  
his opinion.

Wile saide not without iust cause, that by his vertue,  
he did frely saye his opinion: for speaking the very truth,  
he is not onely vniust, but verie wicked, that hath liber-  
tie in his speeche, and hath not vertue in his life. Exerci-  
sing in Asia the office of Proconsul, he vttered so greate  
wisedome in his commaundementes, and so much with-  
out couetousnesse in his dealings, that he was intituled,  
the holy proconsul, which gouernement amongst stran-  
gers, by a straunger, was a case somewhat straunge, be-  
cause detestation alwayes accompanieth such gouerne-  
ment.

Comming from Asia vnto Rome, in Antioche he bu-  
ried his eldest daughter: whoe had such fame in her life,  
that after her death she left behinde a slaunderous memo-  
rie. Wile haue saide howe the wife of Antoninus was  
named Faustine, which was mother vnto the faire Fau-  
stine wife vnto Marcus Aurelius: and mosle truely, both  
mother and daughter were touched with infamie, by the  
meane of too muche libertie, and too little vertue.

It was never seene in the Romaine Empire, that two  
so vertuous Princes, had wifes so licentious: notwithstanding  
the one was sufficietly aduised, the other corri-  
cted: but for that they were so gratiouse in their conuersa-  
tion, and so perfect beautifull of their persons: it was ve-  
ry little which was saide vnto them, in respect of that  
which was dissembled.

I.y.

Antoninus

## The life of the

Antoninus was so limittid in that which he saide, and so aduised in the counsels which he gaue, that he neuer repented that deuaunded the same. Before Antoninus came vnto the Empire, he was couetous, but after wardes very liberall: and his wife reprehending, that he vsed no order in giuing or spending, he aunswere: Faustina, simple is thy iudgement, since thou understandest not, that after we were aduaunced vnto the Empire, we lost all that euer we had, because all Princes of noble mindes be bounde to giue, but haue no licence to keepe or horde.

The tribute coronall, that is to saye, the money that was giuen vnto the Emperours for their coronation: the one halfe therof he gaue vnto the cities of Italie, to relieue the charges of the common wealth. His wife he did both honour, and cause to be honoured: and it was in such manner, that he obtained and brought to passe with the Senate, that she shoulde be intituled Augusta Faustina, and in her owne name to graue and stampe certeine money, the whiche is seene at these dayes. Antoninus was imbraced with so ardent affection of the Senate, that without his request, they erected the pictures and counterfeits of his father and mother, his graundfathers, and graundmothers, his brothers and sisters, notwithstanding they were all dead.

The Circene playes, which were vsed every fifth yere, the Senate did ordeine to celebrate euery yere on the daye of his nativitie. And after that he therefore had greatly gratified the Senate: by greate request he obteyned the celebration of them, to be perfourmed on the day of Adrians death.

The Senate to satissie Antoninus, consented that his wife Faustina, shoulde be intituled Augusta: and also in the coynes whiche they made, vnto her honour, there shoulde be ingrauen, Augusta Faustina: whiche excellencie, was neuer graunted to anye Woman

of

## Emperour Anton. Pius. 133

of Rome: for that in giving her the title of Augusta, they gaue her authoritie to set her hande to the thinges of the common wealth.

## CHAP. VI.

¶ Howe he helde all prouinces in peace,  
not by armes, but with  
letters,

Amongst al the Romaine Princes, there was none, that performed so great constancie in his affaires, as Antoninus Pius: which proceded, for that he was not rashe in his commaundements, either variable in his determinations, but that eractly he considered and examined, what he did commaunde: and after, for no importunitie would reuoke the same. Antoninus being resident in the prouince of Campania, sending vnto the Senate to request a certeine matter, which notwithstanding the difficultie thereof, was graunted: Gaius Rufus a Senatour, saide vnto him. Serene Prince, I beseeche thee to give me to understande, by what reason it is brought to passe, that in all thy enterprizes thou doest neuer repent: in all thy requestes thou art neuer denied: either in al thy commandements thou arte neuer disobeyed. To whome Antoninus made aunswere: If I repent me not of any my deedes, it is because I do them according to reason: and if my requestes are not denied of the Senate, it is because I craue not but that which is iust: and if in my commandements I am not disobeyed, it procedeth that they are more profitable vnto the common welth then for mine owne person.

¶ Oft truely these were words right worshie of such a man, and to h memorie of Princes most chiefly to be commended. It was an auncient custome amongst y Romaines, to haue the time limittid for their residence in their offices,

¶.133. that

that is to say, the Dictatour, sixe monethes, the Consul one yere, the Praetor two yeres, the Censour three yeres, the maister of the horslemen halfe a yere, and so of the rest.

Antoninus woulde not consent unto this custome, but in every respect did alter the same, in such wise, that with some that shoulde haue continued but two or thre yeres, he helde them in office seven or eight yeres: and others that shoulde haue continued thre yeres, hee displaced them in thre monethes: affirminge, that the god officer ought to be conserued all the dayes of his life, but the evill, not to be suffered one onely daye.

He sent Fulius Tuseulanus, as Praetor into þ province of Mauritania, whome bin halfe a yere he deprived of his office: for þ he was bothe impatent, & some what covetous: and complaining of the iniurie, saide and alledged, that in times past, he had beene friend vnto Antoninus, which now was forgotten. Whereunto Antoninus Pius did answer: thou hast no reason thus vnjustly to blame me, because the office was gauen thee by the Emperour, and not by Antoninus: and since thou diddest offend, not as Fulius, but as Praetor: even so I discharged thee of thine office, not as Antoninus thy old friende, but as an Emperour of the Romaine Empire. He was not inclined to beginne warres, either in his owne person to prosecute the same: for he helde opinion, that the Prince with more sounde counsell shoulde command his warres vnto his Captaines, to the ende in his owne person to gouerne the common wealth, then to goe to the warres him selfe, and leaue his common wealth vnto others.

Talkinge on a time in his presence, of warres and battels, that Iulius Caesar, Scipio, and Hanibal, had fought and ouercame in the worlde, Antoninus Pius answered: Let every man holde opinion what he

thyn

thinketh god, and praise what it pleaseþ him: but for mine owne parte, I doe more glorie in conseruing peace many yeares: then with warres to conuerc many battales.

In the seconde yere of his Empire, the Britains rebelled, against whome he sent the Consul Lælius Vrbicus, whoe subdued that Ilande, although afterwards by mischaunce he lost his life.

In the thirde yere of his Empire, the Mauritanes also rebelled, whiche are a people of Africa: against whome he sent the Consul Murus Cespitius, whoe vseþ so greate policie in those warres, that hee constrained them to cruce peace. In those dayes the Germaines and the Datiens had greate warres amongst them selues, vpon the diuision of certeine territoriæ: but in the ende, after their owne destruction, amongst them selues, they came to suche concorde, that they bent their whole force, as cruell enimies against Rome, and the countries thereof: protesting and affirminge, their charges to bee muche more in payng so greate, and so continuall tribute, then might arrise by defence of their persons against the Romaine power.

Antoninus vnderstanding of this rebellion, hee woulde not presently sende forth an armie, but a Judge with greate power, to visite those countries, to mitigate and vnsolde all grieses, and to remoue all vnjust tributes, and ioyntly therewith did write suche and so god wordes, that at the instant those Barbarians left their armour, and did yeld their countries vnto the obedience of Rome.

Of this example, all mighty Princes haue to take example, to the ende, that with furie they undertake not to tame a furious people: because manie times, hartes be more tamed with swete wordes then with cruell armes.

The Lewes that were in the prouince of Pentapolis, also he did represse and tame, which was don by the hands of the president that was in Allyria, whom he commau- ded first to offer them peace before he made them warre. In Achaia and Aegypt also certeine people did rebell: understanding the occasion to proeceede of the Romaine Pretors, whiche were rigorous in their commaunde- ments, and covetous in their dealings, gaue order, that his officers were chastised and the people pardoned.

The Pretors that were resident in the countries of the Alanes, sent to complaine at Rome, howe daily they were threatened to be slaine, onely for demaunding tribute: unto whome Antoninus aunswere. We haue re- ceined your letters, and be grieved with your perils, and no lesse sorrowe your traualles: if these people do paye their tribute which they doe owe: suffer their threate- ninge which they make: because it is needelesse to thinke that any man which is a tributarie, shall live contented. In any wise, aduenture not to give them inturious wordes, to committ biberie, or to do them wrong: be- cause in liche cases, we haue to heare their complaintes, and to correct your offences. The Gods haue you in kee- ping, and guide well your Fortune.

## CHAP. II.

Howe he did visite the officers of his common wealth, and the reformation of his house.

When Antoninus sent any Pretor to gouerne any prouince, he was not satisfied that he were wise, prudent, and valiaunt: but also without any infection of pride, or covetousnesse: for he helde opinion, that he may cuill gouerne a common wealthe, that is a sub-

subject to pride or covetousnesse. Unto Pretors, Cen- sours, and Duesteurs, before he gaue them any gouerne- ment of any countrie, first, he caused them to gaine an in- ventorie, of their olde proper goods: to the end that when their charge were finished, the increase of their wealth might be considered: and ioyntly therewith he did both say and warne them, that he sent them to minister justice, and not by fraude to rob countries. In all thinges that Antoninus commaunded, prouided, and chastised, he was very pitifull: such excepted, as did offend in the execution of justice: with whom he was both rigorous & extreme: in such wise, that other offences, were they very great, he did pardon them: but as concerning justice, the smalles of fense was grieuously punished. On a time certaine officers of his treasure, brought him a memoriall: wherein was contained the manner and fourme, yearly to increase his rents, which being sene and read, in the backe thereof, he did write these wordes: the order and fourme that you haue to searche, ought not to be to the augmentation of my rents: but for the aduancement of my common welth: eyther to impose newe tributes, but to devise with order, to auoyde excessive expences: for if Romaine Princes vse no rule to moderate their charges, eyther we shall lose our selues, or rob our common wealthes. Amongest all the Princes past, onely Antoninus did never permit, the rents of his estate, eyther more or lesse to be augmented: but rather did pardon many common wealthes, of their olde debts, and also relieved others of some newe im- positions. Presents that were brought him, of siluer, golde, silke, purple, iuels, or other riche things, he woulde not receive them, were it not of the kings that payde tribute unto the Empire: for he helde opinion, that the common wealthes, rather then him selfe, had neede thereof. The things that he vsed most commonly to receive, were booke to reade in, horsees to runne, and fruite to feede on: which he forgate not, gratefully to recompence. In af- faires he vsed great expedition, that is to say, that if he

once did undertake any busynesse, he never withdrew his hand, untill it were finished. Every yeare he caused his house to be visited, as concerning excessive expences: if exaction or briberie were committed by any of his housshould, against straungers: if they did serue, which received wages: if amongst them, there were any that were notably vicious: finally, all that whiche the visitour for the reme die hereaf did set downe, presently was perfourmed. For the time of Domitian, the Emperours officers had a custome, to receive many & chargeable fees of al men, that by warrant of the Princes liberalitie received relief: which the Emperour Antoninus, as a vile custome, did utterly take away: affirming, that a gratiouse rewarde, ought gratis to be dispatched. The pryde, the presumption, the hauiness, and also the tediousnesse of the whole Empire, he brought, placed, and restored unto the plat of great humilitie: in such wise, that as easily they dispatched affaires, with the Emperour Antoninus, as with a citizen of Rome. A matter surely to be noted, to beholde the Court of Rome, in the dayes of this god Prince, howe perfect the refourmation thereof was established: for surely, whether their affaires, were eyther with the Prince, or with the Senate, neyther did they beginne their suit with feare, or were dispatched, with iust cause to murmur. The officers of his house, and also of the Senate, by whose handes matters were dispatched, some he aduaunced, and to others he gaue double fee: to no other ende, but to remoue them from aduenturing to take any bribe. Being (as he was) a great friend vnto the common wealth, and not a little delighted to be in the grace thereof, and to this ende, with the god he vased great liberalitie, and with the euill great clemencie: in such wise, that of all men he was beloved, and also praysed: as well for that he pardoned the one, as gaue vnto the other. All that ever he sayde or wised, to be vased of god Princes, the same did he perfourme after he was Emperour: and refourmed all things, that he thought were to be amended.

In the third yeare of his Empire, Faustine his dearely beloued wife dyed, in whose death he did utter so great sorrow, that it exceeded the authoritie of his estate, and also the grauitie of his person. In the memorie of Faustine, he placed his picture in all the temples, and perfourmed with the Senate, that she should be recounted amongst the Goddesses, which was, as to canonize hir: all whiche was truely agred by the Senate, more at the request of Antoninus, then for the deseruings of Faustine.

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## CHAP. VIII.

Of certaine notable buildings erected by Antoninus.

The buildings which he made were not many, but exceeding stately and sumptuous: for in them appeared and were represented the greatness of his estate, and the magnanimitie that he had in spending. He built a temple in the reuerence of his Lord Adrian: wherein he erected a picture of siluer, with a Coronet of golde, and a chaplet of Nacre: a worke most certaintly, no lesse curios then costly. He reedified a certaine building, called Gregostasens: which serued to lodge all straunge ambassadours: bycause the Romaines did vse to giue ambassadours, an house to dwell in, and a stipend for their dyet. He did amplifie and nobilitate the sepulchre of his Lord Adrian: wherevnto none durst approach, but on their knees. The greatest session house of al Rome, was burnt in the time of Domitian: whiche the god Antoninus, built from the feundation. He built the temple of Agrippa, and indued and dedicated the same, in the reuerence of the Goddess Ceres. Duer the riuere Rubicon, he built a sumptuous and a stately bridge, and also not a little necessarie: bycause afore time many were there daungered, and afterwardes that way muche victuall, and provision was carried.

Not farre distant from the port of Hostia, neare vnto the sea, he built a right strong tower, for the safetie and defence of the shippes of Rome: which a sozetime might not bring in any victuall or other prouision, but were distresed of pyrates. The hauen or port of Gaieta, whiche had bene long through great antiquitie forsaken, he freshly re-edifid, that is to say, built newe houses, erected a mightie tower, made a strong wall, placed inhabitants, and gaue them great priuileges: in such wise, that whereas a soze time, it was a thing utterly forgotten, it was from thence forth most esteemed. That whiche he did in Gaieta, he per- fowred in a porke of Spaine named Taragon: whiche he reedified, & amplified, with great buildings and priuileges. A myle from the port of Hostia, he built a sumptuous and a curious bathe, and indued the same in suche manner, that in all Italie it was the onely bath, that was vnto all men free without charges. A myle without Rome he built three temples, naming them Laurianos, for that many bay trees grewe there, to this ende: that the danies and ma- trones of Rome, walking according vnto their manner, should encounter with some Church to pray in.

## CHAP. IX.

## Of certayne lawes which the Emperour Antoninus Pius made.

IT was a law amongst the Romaines, that such as were put to death by justice, might make no testament: but that in losing their life, they lost also their goods. Antoninus moued with pietie, did ordene, that none for any fault, what so euer, should ioyntly lose both life and goods: but if any were put to death, he might frankly make a testament of his owne proper goods. Where he had placed any good and sound Judge in any commen wealth: he did not onely permit him not to be remoued: but also with giftes and re- questes he did sustaine him. This good Prince made a law, that

that none should presume to sue to the Prince or Senate, for the office of justice: vpon paine to be banished Rome. There was in Rome a Judge, named Gaius Maximus, who in Rome continued a iudge twentie yeares: of whom Antoninus wold oft say, that he had never stene, heard, or read of a man more cleare of life, exther right in justice. In the place of Gaius Maximus, there succeeded Tatius Succinus, a man surely of many hoare haires, and of muche learning: but the office of Pretour being so tedious, and he of yeares so auncient, dyed immedately vpon the burthen thereof. Antoninus being infourned, that the god olde Tatius dyed with the burthen of his office, diuided the same betwixt Cornelius, and Repentinus: but after the Emperour being infourned, howe the Senate had giuen the same vnto Repentinus, not for his deserving, but at the suite of a Gentlewoman of the Courte: he commaunded him publikely to be banished, declaring by the voice of a cryar throughout all Rome, that he was banished for obteining the office of a Judge, by the suit of a woman. This was the first officer of Rome, that in the dayes of Antoninus, suffered punishment, whitch coxrection gaue so greate feare throughout the Romaine Empire, that from thenceforth the Emperour Antoninus was as muche feared of the euill, as beloved of the god. A mighty Senatour named Tranquillus, confessing to haue procured his fathers death, of extreme desire to inherite: he commaunded to be remoued into an Island, onely to passe his life with the breade of sorowe, and the water of teares. All the time of his Empire, he gaue wheate and oyle vnto the citizens of Rome. The people of Rome in those dayes, being giuen to drinke wine without measure: he commaunded that none shuld presume to sel wine, but in Apothecaries shoppes for the sickle or diseased. He establisched a lawe for him self and his successors, that openly thre dayes in the weeke, they shoulde shewie them selues in Rome: and if by any weightie cause, there happened some impediment, that on such dayes their gates shoulde stand wide open, without porters,

porters, that frely the pore might repaire to follow their suits. In deare yeres he did ordeine through Italie, that no gardener should dare to sowe in his garden any seede, but wheate and barley : whereby the pore of the common wealthe might be relieued of their penurie. He made an vniversall lawe, throughout the Empire, that gouerners and rulers of the people, should not aduenture to spende the gods of the common wealth, in matters eyther vnprouiftable or superfluous : but to the defence of enimies, or repaying of fortifications, eyther else for provision of the common wealth in time of deare yeres. There was in Rome certaine stipendarie interpreters of all languages, to manifest the meaning of straunge ambassadours: whose fee and office Antoninus commanded to be forbiddene, and taken away, affirming it to be verie convenient vnto the greatnesse and maiestie of Rome, that al nations and kingdomes should learne to speake their speache : and that it were abasement for them, to learne any straunge tong. Also he did ordeine, that al the old, impotent, & blind people in Rome, should be sustaine in the charges of the common wealth: but such as were younger and more able, shoulde be constrained, eyther to boulte meale at the bakers, or to blowe the bellowes at the smythes. By chaunce on a certaine day, he founde an olde servitour, whiche he had knowne long in the warres, rubbing and clawing him selfe against the pillars of the Churche: ~~Adrian~~ demandinge whp he did so rubbe him selfe, and weare out his clothes: the olde man made answere, I haue no garments to clothe my selfe, neyther any man giueth me to eate: yet if it may please thes, Adrian, I haue founde meane to rub my selfe. Adrian tooke great compassion of that whiche he did see, but much more of that whiche he heard: and presently he commaunded gods to be giuen him, and slaues to serue him. And as enuie, is naturall vnto the pore, as pryde is common among the riche: The next day other two pore men came before Adrian, rubbing them selues amongst the pillars, in hope to receiue the like liberalitie: whome

whom he willed to be called vnto hym, commaunding the one to scratch the other, and by turne to ease each other of his itch. Unto king Pharamaco of the Parthians, Adrian gaue great giftes: that is to say, fiftie Elephants armed with their towers, and thre hundred men of Hiberia in the countrie of Spaine, whiche were of his guard.

CHAP. XI.  
Of the prodigious and monstrosous  
things that happened du-  
ring the Empire of  
Antoninus.

Many trauels and hard aduentures followed the Emperour Antoninus while he liued, and also in all his kingdomes, in the time of his reigne: because Fortune is so variable, that she never stayeth her wheele, or euer ceaseth to be turning thereof. In the second yeaire of his reigne, hunger was so great, so sharpe, and so generall throughout all Italie, that thereof there dyed no lesse, then if it had bene of a fierce pestilence. There was in Asia, so cruell, and so generall an earthquake, that many houses and buildings were subuerted, many people slayne, and not a fewe cities disinhabited: for the repaying of which great hurtes, he sent not onely money from the common wealth of Rome, but also plentifullly sent his treasure out of his owne coffers. In the moneth of Januarie, there was in Rome so furious a fire, that it burnt ten thousand houses, wherein there perished of men, women, and children, more then tenne thousand. In the same yeaire was burnt the stately place of Carthage, the one halfe of Antioche, and in a manner the whole citie of Narbona. In the moneth of August, there was at Rome great floudes: and besides, losse of their corne, both reapt and unreapt. The riuier Tyber did so swell and ouerflowe, that one dayes losse was not repayed in thre yeares. On the fourth of the monethe of Maie, there appeared a Starre ouer Rome, conteyning the quantitie of the wheele of a myll: which

" which threw out sparkes so thicke and so continuall, that  
 " it seemed rather the fire of a forge, then the shining of a  
 " starre. In the sirt yeare of the Empire of Antoninus, in  
 " Rome was borne a childe with two heades, the one like a  
 " man, the other like a dogge: but the straungenesse of the  
 " matter did more excade, in that, with one head he did cry  
 " and barkie, as a whelpe: and with the other did weepe as a  
 " childe. In the citie of Capua, a woman was brought a bed  
 " and deliuered of fve sonnes. At that time was seene in A-  
 " rabia, a great and a most huge serpent: which being seene  
 " of many persons, vpon the height of a rocke, did eate halfe  
 " his owne table: in which yeare, there was throughout all  
 " Arabia, a maruellous greate pestilence. In the ninthe  
 " yeare of the Empire of Antoninus, in the citie of Mesia,  
 " barley was seene to grove in the heads of their trees: in  
 " such wise, that no tree bare fruite that yeare, but eares of  
 " barley. In the same yeare, there happened in the king-  
 " dome of Artenitos, in a citie named Triponia: soute wilde  
 " and unknoowne Lions to lye downe in the market place:  
 " which became so tame, that they made them packehorsse  
 " to the mountaines for wood, and boyes became horslemen  
 " vpon their backes. In the kingdome of Mauritania, a  
 " childe was borne, which had the heade turned backwards,  
 " which lived, and was bred vp, and also suche as would ey-  
 " ther see or speake with him, most conueniently did place  
 " them selues at his backe: which notwithstanding, coulds  
 " both see, speake, and go, but with his hands might not seede  
 " him selfe. There died in Rome a Senatour, named Ru-  
 " sus, a man of great wealth and credite, whiche after his  
 " death did many times come to the Senate: sitting in his  
 " wonted place, and clad with garments, after his olde fa-  
 " shion, but was never hearde speake one worde: and this  
 " vision continued in the Senate, full two yeares.

Of the warres that happened in the  
 reigne of Antoninus Pius,  
 and other his actes.

IT chaunced vnto no Romaine prince, as it did vnto Antoninus: which alwayes remaining within the bounds of Italie, and commonly within Rome, was so beloued, feared, and serued of all straunge kings and kingdomes, as if personally he visited & had conquered the. In the fourth yeare of his empire, king Pharamaco came to Rome, but onely to see Antoninus, and brought and presented vnto him, so muche and so maruellous thinges, that the eyes of men were not satisfied in beholding, eyther their hearts in wishing them. The king of Parthians, had taken awaye much landes from the king of Armenia: who sent to com- plaine vnto the Romaines, as vnto their friends, allies, and conederates: for whome the Emperour Antoninus did write his letters vnto the king of Parthians, to cease to do wronng, and also to make restitution vnto the Armenians: whose letters being received and read, was presently obeied and perfourmed. King Abogarus one of the mightiest and most notable kinges of the Orient, the Emperour Antoninus did force to come to Roine: bycause that owing a great summe of money vnto one of his bassals, he would not come to account. The god Emperour Traiane, had constrained the Parthians to receive their seate and royall crowne, at the handes of the Romaines: whiche subiection, the Parthians both denied and refused: but Antoninus not only by letters, but also by apparant threatnings, did force them to yealde and consent vnto the obedience of Rome. Rometalce king of the Pindaroes, was accused in the Senate, of disloyaltie vnto the Romaines, in the warres they helde against the Rhodes: who coming vnto Rome, to quite him selfe, the god Antoninus did not onely con- firme him in his kingdome; but also did not permit, that

for any thing past, any motion should be made: affirming that his offence might not be so great, but that his submis-  
sive appearance did refozme the same. The Olbiopolites a people in Asia, held warre with y Taurocistes, alies of Rome: unto whom Antoninus sente succour by sea, and with assistance of the Romanes, subdued the Olbiopolites, who not only paid all charges of the warres, but also gaue hostages to maintaine peace. Antoninus never raised warre, but that first he sought to conserue peace, and prai-  
sed not a little that saying of Scipio: that is to say, Hee rather wished the life of one citizen of Rome, then the death of a thousand enimies. When hee married his daughter Faustina unto Marcus Aurelius, he made a sumptuous feast, and gaue great rewards unto his men of warre. He held his sonne Marcus Aurelius in great reverence, and would haue made him Consul, which hee refused, holding it for  
more happie, to turne booke, then to appease nations.

After he had sent unto Calcedonic for the great Philo-  
sopher Apollonius, and had giuen him an house to dwelle  
in solitarie, neare unto the river Tiber: Antoninus sent  
for him, wherrefusing to come sent answere, That schol-  
lers do vse to come to their maisters, and not maisters vnto  
their scholers: whereat Antoninus laughing said: A  
trimesse, that Apollonius hath passe so many seas, from  
Calcedonic unto Rome, and now refuseth from his house  
to come to mine. Although Apollonius were learned in  
Philosophie, yet was hee in his life very covetous: where-  
at when certaine in presence of the Emperour did mur-  
mur, hee aunsweread: for very deare that Philosophers  
sell vs their Philosophie: always their science is more  
worthe which they teach vs, then the goddes which we  
glue them.

## CHAP.

## CHAP. XII.

¶ Of the succession of the Empire,  
and the occasion of his  
death.

AS y Emperour Antoninus in his youth was alwayes  
a frend unto the vertuous, euen so in his age carefully  
hee did seeke the conuersation of the wise: and therewith  
had no lesse care of publique matters, then of his owne pri-  
uate affaires. Generally hee was so liked and loued of al  
nations, that in all temples, in all walles, gates, and buil-  
dings, these fourre letters were placed, namely V. A. C. R.  
whiche is to saye *Vita Antonini Conseruatur Respublica*:  
which is to saye, On the life of Antoninus, the whole  
weale of the Romane Empire dependeth. Leauing a part  
many god lawes, which he made for the Common wealth,  
for which purpose, hee had alwayes attendant about him,  
men in the lawes singularly learned, who among y chiefe  
was Vindemius Verus, Siluius Valente, Abolusius Mc-  
tianus, Vlpius Marcellus, and Iaholinus: before whome  
hee set the lawes of all kingdomes, and of the most neces-  
sarie and approued, to take the choice to be established in  
his kingdomes. When he did institute any lawe, either or-  
deine any proclamation, he alwayes expressed therein so  
great reason, that his commaundements were never dis-  
obeyed, either his lawes revoked. The cause of his death  
they say was after this maner: from Gallia Transalpina,  
that is to say, swete Fraunce, they did present him cer-  
taine cheeses, whereof he eating at his supper more then  
was conuenient, they ministred vnto him a perillous vo-  
mit, whereby they discharged his stomache not onely of  
meate superfluous, but also of blood righte necessarie,  
which bzedd in him a furious feuer, and finding himselfe

B.ij. in great

„ in great weaknesse, without disposition to sleepe, either ap-  
 „ petite to eate: he commaunded al the Senatours and chie-  
 „ gouvourours, to be called vnto his presence: and before the  
 „ all did commende the common wealth vnto Marcus Aure-  
 „ lius his sonne, and Faustine his daughter. And making his  
 „ testament in verie god order, wherin he gave vnto his ser-  
 „ uants great gifts, whiche being finished and perfourmed, he  
 „ gave vnto his daughter Faustine, the inheritaunce of all  
 „ his lands whiche he possessed before he came vnto the Em-  
 „ pire. His feauer increasing, and his strenght and life wa-  
 „ king, the fourth day of his sicknesse about noon, beholding  
 „ and viewing all the circumstantis, and shutting his eyes  
 „ as if he wold sleepe, gaue vp the ghost: who was no lesse  
 „ bewailed at his death, then he was beloued in time of life:  
 „ and presently by conformitie of the whole Senate, was ins-  
 „ tituled Holie: and all the people at the newes of his death,  
 „ a die in every streate did grite, strich, and cry, aduaancing  
 „ and magnysing his bountie, clemencie, benignitie, libera-  
 „ litie, justice, patience, prudence, and prouidence. Al the ho-  
 „ nours were done vnto him, and all the famous titles were  
 „ giuen him, that vpon any noble Prince had bene imployed.  
 „ And deserued that in the temple of Iupiter, a priest of his  
 „ owne name shold be institute. Also they built him a tem-  
 „ ple, and dedicated vnto his honour the Circene playes, and  
 „ a fraternitie: where they were all called Antonines.  
 „ This Prince onely amongst all Princes, liued and dyed  
 „ without sheding of bloude: and for likelinesse, compared  
 „ vnto Numa Pompilius, not onely in god governement  
 „ of the common wealth, but also for sinceritie of life.

The

*The life of the Emperour Commo-  
dus, the sonne of good Mar-*

*cus Aurelius: compiled by Syr Antho-  
nie of Gueuara, byshop of Mondon-  
nedo, preacher, Chronicler, and  
Couseler vnto the Emperour  
Charles the fift.*

## C H A P. I.

¶ Of the byrth of the Emperour  
Commodus,



He Emperour Commodus had to his grandfather Annus Verus, and his fa-  
 ther was the god Emperour Marcus Aurelius: and his mother was the right  
 faire and renouned Faustine: on whose  
 side, he was nephewe vnto the Empe-  
 rour Antoninus Pius, a man of a refour-  
 med life, and very beneficall vnto the common wealth of  
 Rome. He was borne in a certaine place named Lodice, on  
 the eight day of September: at the time that his father,  
 and Drusius his uncle, were Consuls: the one gouerning  
 matters of warre in Dacia, and the other in refourmation  
 of causes in the common wealth. The Empresse Faustine  
 being great with childe, and neare vnto the time of her  
 childe byrth, dreamed that she was deliuered of certaine  
 serpents, but especially of one, moze fierce then the rest: of  
 which dreame, when his father Marcus Aurelius was in-  
 fourmed, they say, that he sayde: I feare me Faustine, that  
 the sonne of this birth, shall proue so fierce a Serpent, that  
 shall be of power to commit a murther of our fame, and to  
 poyson the whole common wealth of Rome. The Astro-  
 nomers and Pekromantiques, which in those dayes were  
 resident

resident in Rome, they sayde and prognosticated many things of the byzth of the Emperour Commodus: and as it appeared afterwardes they sayde very little, in respect of that which followed: bycause this miserable and unfor- tunate Prince, in his manners, did rather resemble the infernall furies, then reasonable creatures. From his infancie his father Marcus Aurelius, carefullly did trauell, in the learning and instruction of his sonne Commodus: for whiche purpose, he made inquisition throughout the whole Empire, for men learned in science, and of life and manners resourned. His first scholemaisters were, Onesicrates to teach him Greeke, Capilus to instruct him in the Latine, Teyus to instruct him in the Art of Oratorie, Pulin to insourme him in Musike, Calphurnius to give him order for behauour on horsbacke, and Marcus to give him rules for god manners: for that his father ha-  
ving no moze sonnes, did not a little trauell, to frame in him suche perfection, as was due vnto a most noble and perfect Prince. But alas for pitie, that so many and so excellent men, neyther could persuade him to followe or imbrace vertue, eyther seperate him from his detestable vices. Right happie may we call those fathers, whose hap-  
is to haue children inclined to vertue: for if they natural-  
ly be euill inclined, neyther doth it profite, that whiche their maisters teach them, eyther wherefore their parents  
do correct them. After Faustine was conceiued with Com-  
modus, she never ceased to say, howe painefull he was in  
breeding, and howe daungerous in his birth: and his nur-  
ses for his byting when he did sucke, always complained:  
in suche wise, that from the time of his first conception he  
was painefull, and tedious in conuersation. After Com-  
modus was weined, and began to leare him self and learne  
to talke: presently it appeared, that he was harde of con-  
dition, intollerable to serue, ingrateful of benefites, a glut-  
ton in feeding, malicious in countenaunce, cruell in re-  
uengement, impatient in injuries, proude in commannde-  
ments, and aboue all, filthy, double, and vncertaine in his  
talke.

talke. At the sixte yeare of his age, it was maruellous to see howe in so tender yeares, he was giuen to all manner of vice: that none whatsoeuer in times past, had vsed such industrie to proue eyther valiant or learned, as the un-  
fortunate Commodus did trauell to be vicious. He was sharpe and of a delicate wit, and of excellent memorie: he was also, quarelling, valiaunt, and doughtie: most appa-  
rant in him from his infancie: for he was never scene to feare eyther water, or fire, stroede, or wilde beastes. Na-  
ture also had indued him with naturall abilities, whiche valiauntesse if he had employed in warres, eyther his me-  
morie vnto learning, or his wit vnto vertues, he might haue proued an other Alexander in prowesse: or Plato in science, eyther Traiane in justice: but by euill conuer-  
sation, he rightly resembled Brute the traytour, Nero the  
cruell, and Catiline the tyrant.

## CHAP. II.

Of the honourable titles, giuen vnto the  
Emperour Commodus, in time  
of his youth.

Notwithstanding that Commodus was as yet but young, he was ouerthwart, quarellous, hatefull, and generally of the people not well liked. At the age of four-  
tene yeares, the Senate gaue him the title of Cæsar: not for the merite of the sonne, but to yealde to the vertue of the father. The Emperour Marcus Aurelius, seeing his sonne increase in age, and decrease in vertue, advised to place him in a college of priestes, with whom many sonnes of noble men were bred: but in the end, he as little profited, by the compaines of priestes, as by the doctrine of his scholemaisters: for he helde always, enimitie with other mens counsell, and great friendship with his owne will.  
When his father came from the Parthike warres, in token of gratefulnesse, the Senate gaue vnto Commodus the title of Prince: which name vnto that day, was never giuen vnto the sonne of any Emperour.

The Romaine Princes held a custome, yearly to give unto the people for their sustentation, wheate, wine, and oyle, and other thinges, on which day alwayes in Rome they made great feastes. Commodus being then of fiftene yeares of age, and also placed in the temple of Traiane, gaue and diuided vnto the people, their accustomed shares of wheate, oyle, and wine: on that day Commodus was so feasted of all the Senate, as his father was the day he entered triumphing into Rome. When the Emperour Marcus Aurelius came from the warres of the Argonautes, he was received into Rome with great triumphe: and the more to honour and to do him pleasure, the Senate did ordeine, that his sonne Commodus, shold with him be placed, in the chariot triumphant: & further & beside this, they did inuest him with the garment imperiall: that is to say, they did abilitate and elect him, that after the death of his father, his sonne Commodus shold be Emperour. Marcus Aurelius went into Aegypt, and also into Assyria, to visit those countries, and lead with him his sonne Commodus. The Senate vnderstanding the noble wroks and deedes which he performed in al those countries and provinces, sent him a dispensatio of the law Annuaria, which did prohibite, that no young man might be admitted to be Consul: to the end that freely he might establish his sonne Commodus, Romaine Consul. Commodus was but xvij. yeares of age, when he sawe him selfe clad with the imperiall garment, when he diuided shares of reliese vnto the common people, when he was elected a Romaine Consul, and was placed with his father in the chariot triumphant: which fourre titles and honours, were not given to honour the sonne, but to please the father. His proportion was after this manner: his body long and slender, his face faire and well bearded, his eyes great and blacke, his handes white and long fingred, his haire yellow & thicke: finally, he was so faire and so gratioues, that in his person there was no blemish, either in his life any thing to be prayzed.

It was monstrous and also lamentable to see, howe this

this Prince was naturally endued with so high a witt, and of such perfect singularitie of proportion, and further, being named Commodus, howe to all purposes, he was incommodeous, that according to the iudgement of al me, he was not onely vnworthe of so great and singular graces, but possessed his life with great indignitie.

Commodus had his lockes so perfect yellow, that when they were moued in the sunne with the ayre, they seemed not hayres, but thredes of golde: and many helde opinion, considering the incomparable beautie & finenesse of his person, and the lively freschenesse of his face, that he had not beene engendred by mankinde, but that the Gods had made him with their owne handes. At all times when he did ride through Rome, a vie both men & womē left their businesse, placing them selues at windowes, vpon houses, and all streetes, to beholde him, as though they had never seene him: but as much as they praised him for his beautie: so muche did they dispraise and abhore him for his wicked life. Commodus was farre out of favour with his father Marcus Aurelius, and too muche cherisched of his mother Faustine: Wherein bothe the one and the other had great reason: for doubtlesse, he gathered too small profitte of his fathers counsell, and folowed too much the libertie of his mother. Commodus had another brother named Verissimus, vnto whome, if he had not dyed young, the father had left the Empire: but so the destynies did ordeine, that he died which deserued to live, and that he lived which deserued to dye. When in the presence of Marcus Aurelius, talke was moued of Princes that had beene honourable and happye: some praising Alexander, that ouercame Darius: others, Scipio that subdued Haniball: others, Iulius Caesar that conquered Pompeius: others, Augustus that defeated Marcus Antonius: Marcus Aurelius made this aunswere: I holde the Emperour Nerua more happye then all the rest, and for no other cause, but for that he adopted Traiane for his sonne, in such wise, that he elected whome he liked, and

not as I moste sorrowful, that must take such as they haue  
giuen mee.

## CHAP. III.

¶ Howe Commodus did inherite the Empire of  
his father Marcus Aurelius, and of a  
certeine speech which he vs-  
ed vnto the Senate.

In the rbi. yere of the reigne of Marcus Aurelius, and in the 63. yere of his age, warre was railed in Pano-  
nia, which at these dayes is otherwise named Hungarie: in which warres the god Emperour woulde goe in his  
owne person, leading also with him his sonne Commodus, according vnto his accustomed manner, that by the taste  
of trauels in the warres, he should bende and yelde him  
selue to conserue peace. The Emperour in the greatest  
heat and furie of those martiall affaires, was soudainly  
striken with a deadly sicknesse, and in fewe dayes depar-  
ued of his life: Commodus being then in so tender yeares,  
that he neither felte what he lost, either the daunger wher-  
in he stode. At the death of Marcus Aurelius, his sonne  
Commodus was elected Prince, and confirmed Cesar,  
whereof proceeded (but chiesly for affection they bare vnto  
his father) that presently he was obeyed of all the ar-  
mies, as true Emperour: notwithstanding they all sus-  
pected, he shoulde be the losse of their common wealth, and  
procure to his person some euil conclusion. Before the em-  
perour Aurelius died, he left his sonne Commodus com-  
mended vnto certeine tutours, as well fortunatly to fi-  
nishe those warres begonne, as also to assit and counsell  
him in the gouernement of the common wealth, because  
his father compreſhending the sonne, did feare, that leaning vnto  
enimies, he woulde abandon him selfe vnto vices: and al-  
though the common wealth were forgotten, woulde dedi-  
cate him selfe vnto the pleasures of his person.

The

The exequies for the god Prince Marcus Aurelius be-  
ing celebratzed, and sumptuous sacrifices also offered for  
him vnto the Gods, Commodus was aduised by his cou-  
sell, to vse some speache vnto all his Senatours, and cap-  
taines attendant in those warres: who being aduaunced  
vpon an high stafolde, began after this manner to make  
his Oration.

*The Oration of Commodus made  
to the Senate.*

The vniuersall calamitie, and the particular sor-  
rowe, which for the death of my father, this sorrow-  
full day doth represent, is no leſſe common vnto you  
then to mee: for if I haue lost a pittifull father, you  
haue lost a righteous and a iust Prince. My losse is  
not small, that haue lost such a father, but much more  
haue you lost, that haue lost such a Prince: because  
the hurte of one is tollerable, but that which redoun-  
deth to the offence of many, for euer is to be lamented.  
Experience teacheth vs, that of an hundred fa-  
thers, there be not twaine, that are euill vnto their  
children: and by the contrarie, of an hundredth prin-  
cess, ye shall hardly finde twaine, that exquisitely shal  
proue good for their subiectes. If this be true, as it  
is moste true, that I haue saide: it is iust, and verie  
iust, that if sonnes lament the death of their parentes,  
with teares of their eyes: that subiectes bewaile the  
death of their good Princes, with drops from their  
heartes.

Howe humble my father hath beene vnto the  
Gods, how ſeuere with y wicked, howe affable with  
good men, how patient in iniuries, how grateful for  
ſeruice,

seruice, howe bountifull in his house, and howe zealous for the common wealth: although you haue seene, you haue not throughly comprehended: for that good Princes be not exactly knownen, vntil they be lost. My father was so fortunate and venturous in the warres, so singular in science, so sincere and cleane of life, and so perfecte a louer of the common wealth, that the dead had enuie at the liuing, not of the life which they possessed, but of the Prince which they injoyed. It may not be denied, but that the Romaine Empire is in debt and beholding vnto many Princes past: but I saye and affirme, that Rome is more in debt vnto my father, aboue all other: for oþers made the common wealth riche, but my father made it vertuous: oþers repaired walles, but he reformed manners: and that which is more, oþers brought to passe that Rome was feared of all strange nations: but my father framed, that Rome of all in generall was both serued and beloued. You all well vnderstande, what difference there goeth betwixt voluntarie, and forceable seruice: for as my father did vse to saye, it is more tollerable to be commaunded of such as loue vs, then to be serued of such as abhorre vs. My father hath now finished his iourney, and certeinly, moste perfectlly hath runne out his race: herein ye may conceiue his inestimable loue towardes you, in that he commended mee his onely sonne into your handes: and if I followe and perfourme his will, he gaue mee not the Empire to commaund you, but to the ende I should serue you, for he expressly gaue in charge, that my Empire should tende more to your vtiltie, then to mine owne profite, humbly beseeching the immortal Gods, to make

mee

mee such, as my father at his death commaunded, & as you Romaines do wishe and desire: because there is no man in this worlde so euil, that desireth not to be gouerned by a Prince that is good. You with me, and I with you, in the manner of our gouernement after his death, he did verie well expresse in the time of his life, directing me by commaundement to call you fellowes, and forbidding you to call me Lord: for his desire was, that you should fauour, and counsell me as a sonne: and that I should deale with you as with brethren, and trust & beleeue you as fathers. The loue which the gods do beare vs, the same my father alwayes vsed with you: that is to say, he did so tenderly loue you all, as if ye all had beene but one man: whereof it foloweth that you are not so much in his debt, for that which he did for you, as for y hee woulde haue done, and coulde not. I remember me, that many times being a childe, my father delighted that ye should take, imbrace, kisse, and cherish me: to the end that imbracing of me in your armes, ye shuld place me in your hertes: and also, that I finding your armes open, shoulde not vniustly close my bowels from you. My Empire is not as the Empire of others, y is, I neither bought it with money, either obteined it by voices, or wonne it by armes, or toke it by guile: no doubtles, it is not so: for as others obteine by aduerture, naturally I inherite. You haue great reason in minde to be satisfied, and in harte contented, since ye haue a prince not deliuered by the hands of strangers, but borne in your owne houses. I confesse that to proue good, it auailleth muche to desire and also procure to be good: but ioyntly herewith I saye, that to be a prince, it necessarily requireth to haue the fauour

fauour of his kingdome: for otherwise, if straungers do repugne, and subiects do not succour, it may be in his owne handes to be a good man, but not in his power to be a good Prince.

My father was olde, and I am yong, wherof it followeth, y more glorie redoundeth vnto you, by yealding obedience vnto me, then vnto my father: because obedience done vnto him, proceeded of the merit of his authoritie: but that which yee shall yealde vnto mee, proceedeth of your owne pure vertue. All the rewardes, honours, and offices, that my father gaue in time of his life from henceforth I confirme them vnto such as hold them: for that being (as he was) both holy and vertuous, the Gods aproouing all his aetes, it were not iust, they should be disallowed of men. Neither in the dignities of the Senate, the captainshippes of the armies, the offices of my house, there is nothing to be sayd, much lesse to be altered: only one thing remaineth betwixt my father and mee, which is, that I confirme his good works, & change my vni-reformed maners. Let vs ioyntly put on noble minds, to giue good end vnto the warres whiche my father hath so happily begunne, which being finished, we will all goe to our ease and solace, and inioy the pleasures of Rome: whiche warres, if wee should leauie vndone, although the hurte should redound to mee, the faulfe should proceede and be imputed vnto you. I will not saye more vnto you, my friendes & companions, but that I request and desire you, alwayes to commend vnto your memorie, the greate loue that my father hath borne you, and the good dealing he alwayes vsed with you: that from his anti-quitic, my tender yeres, and your greate vertue, ye may

maye frame a Prince, good for your selues, and profitable for the common wealth.

Finally, I saye that if ye haue my father in remembrance, ye will neuer forget or disobey mee his sonne: for comparing his vertue with my libertie: doubtlesse and without comparison, ye shal be much more persuaded by his noblenesse, then altered by my youthfullnesse.

This talke being finished, much money was throwen out amongst the armyes because, on such dayes, it was amongst the Romaines muche vsed. The Romaine Princes did not muche varie from reason, to giue and promise muche money in the beginninge of their Empires: for as muche as the malice of man is greedie and couetous: they are more persuaded with a little money which is giuen, then with many wordes that are spoken vnto them.

#### CHAP. IIII.

¶ Of a certeine famous and notable speeche, vsed by one of his tutours: for that he would leauie the warre of Pannonia vnfinitshed.

All the officers of the Senate, and all the captaines of the armie did marueilously mitigate their sorowe, for the death of their mooste loving Lorde Marcus Aurelius, when they hearde his sonne Commodus talke with so greate singularitie: not onely for that he confirmed, whatsoever his father had done, but also because he promised by imitation moost naturally to resemble him.

But what and howe great difference was betwixt the wordes of this Prince at that instant, & the workes which after he perfourmed in his life, was muche & too muche: for nothing was more apparent, then that al his good words and

and woorke, vpon that day did finishe and take an ende, because from that day, he did not onely speake euil, and do euill; but that which is woorst of all, it was neuer seene, that euer he had any motion or desire to do good. Many be wicked, and desire to amende: but this person so vnhappie and solde to sinne, was not to day so euil: that he desired and procured not to morrowe to be woorse. Certeine dayes after he had vseid this talke vnto the army, he permitted to be gouerned by the advise of his tutores: but even shoztly after he both forgate the committement of his father, and his promise made vnto his men of warre: for that he lost not onely the feare of his tutores, but also the loue and shame vnto his friendes. Commodus when he did inherite the Empire, was weake, delicate, and of tender yeares: but notwithstanding did vse such licence and libertie of life, that decayed his person, and damnified his inclination and manners. His tutores and gouernours finding the offence that ensued therof, aduised to remoue the mischiese by information and counsel in secrete: but so peruerse was his condition, that for their gentle admonition, he did presently abhorre them. Nowe when Commodus had publiquely lost his feare vnto tutores, his obedience vnto gouernours, and reuerence vnto his friendes, he woulde neither beholde the one, or speake with the other: but that all his communication, and conuersation was with persons light, young, and vicious, vnto whome he committed all his secrete: who began to persuade him to leaue the warres, to go to Rome, renuynge his memorie with the opulencie of Italic, and the beautie of Rome: and ioyntly did murmur at the land of Panonia, saying, it was barren, drye, colde, pore, and contagious: and that to drinke a pitcher of water, they were first constrained to breake the Ice.

With these and suche like wordes, Commodus was easily persuaded to leaue the warres of Panonia, and take his waye into Italic: and to bring the same to effect, calling his tutores and gouernours into his presence,

fained

fained to have greate suspicion, that while he remained in y warrs, some others shold cōspire & rebel in Rome: in respect whereof to avoyde y warrs, he was determined first to assure him selfe of his owne countries, before he conquered straung kingdoms. So greate sorrowe entred the harts of the gouerners and capteines, that were present at that assembly, that heauily castinge their countenances on the grounde, they were not able to aunswere one word. A Senatour named Pompeyanus being present at that counsell, who had married Lucilla, daughter vnto Marcus Aurelius, and elder sister vnto Commodus: besides his alliance in marriage, he was a man both rich, wise, valiaunte, and aunciente: and therewithall had greate boldnesse in that which he did, and no lesse credit in that which he saide. This Consul Pompeyanus, beholding all the assembly in great silence, thought god to take in hand, to aunswere the Emperour Commodus after this manner.

*The Oration of Pompeyanus to Commodus.*

Oh my sonne, and my Lord, for thee to haue desire to see Rome, & to go into Italie, is no meruel: for the same which thou desirest, all we haue longe wished, but folowing and imbracing reason, we endure not to be ouercome or carried away with sensualitic. I call thee sonne, because I haue bred and nourished thee from thy youth: and I call thee Lord, because thou art Lorde of my mother Rome: by the one I am bounde as a faithfull vassall to followe and obeye thee, and by the other thou art bound as vnto a good father to beleue me: and may it please the immortall gods, that thou haue as ready an harte to be-

L.i.

leue

## The life of the

leeue my counsels, as I haue, redilie to obeye thy  
commaundements.

Many yeares I did folowe and serue thy father, and  
also am fully persuaded, that my seruice was grate-  
full vnto his harte, and did not onely tenderly loue  
me, but also frankly gaue and recompenced me: for  
which reason, vnto him and his house I will never  
become ingratefull: and am determined, one for one  
to counsell thee, in that which thou oughtest to doe,  
and afterwardes employ my life where in thou shalt  
comauand me. In that which I shal now say, if I haue  
not that reverence, that from a vassall is due vnto the  
Lorde, at the Icaste I shall haue that loue that a father  
doth owe vnto his sonne: and if nowe thou shalt be-  
displeased with my words, and shalt take them to o-  
ther ende then they be spoken, the time shall come,  
wherein thou shalt repente thee, for not beleueing the  
old Pompeyanus, and that thou hast followed thine  
owne will and iudgment. But comming to the pur-  
pose, thou seest (moste souereigne prince) that all  
which be present, neither do beholde or answer thee,  
which may not proceede, but that either they knowe  
not to speake, or dare not answere, or els they thinke  
thou wilte not beleue them: any of which, is too  
muche hurtefull and daungerous: because it is a faulfe  
in a prince, to demaunde counsell of him that know-  
eth not to giue it: but it is muche woorste when  
they dare not speake that whiche is meete to be saide:  
but that whiche is woorste of all, is, when a prince  
knoweth not to take the benefite of good coun-  
sell.

If thou hadst in remembraunce, what thy father  
commaunded, it were superfluous at this present to  
aduaunce

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aduaunce my selfe to giue thee counsell: and I dread,  
that as thou haste made no accompt of his com-  
maundement, in muche lesse estimation thou wilt  
holde my request: but in the ende I will say my op-  
inion, and after wardes, make choyce of what shall,  
or may please thee.

My sonne, call to remembrance whose sonne thou  
wert, that is to say, of my Lorde Marcus Aureli-  
us. for if thou doest consider that thou hadst to father  
so good a father: thou art muche bounde, being his  
sonne, to proue a very good sonne. Thou didest in-  
herite of thy father his house, his goodes, his estate,  
and his memorie: all which doubtlesse is verie little,  
if thou didst not inherite his noblenesse: because, for  
thy onely vertue thou art to be honoured & obeyed:  
as touching the rest, as thou didst inherite in one day  
thou maist lose in one houre. The glorie which thou  
receiuest, to haue so good a father, so neare and in  
companie with the Gods, the same shoulde hee haue  
there, to haue so good a sonne here amongst men:  
for other wise, as muche pleasure as thou takest of  
his glorie, so muche grieve shall he receiu of thy infa-  
mie.

Thou wilte (my sonne) leaue this warre whiche  
thy father hath begonne, and wilt go to enjoy the de-  
lights of Rome: I sweare by the immortall Gods, I  
may not immagine yvnworthiness of him that put  
the same into thy heade: because suche and so greate  
an enterprise as this, ought not to be lefte vnsfinished,  
either if it were not begonne, ynprefourmed.

Thou mayest not denie, but that thy father  
was wise, aduised, patient, & valiante, which being so

in my iudgmēte it shoulde be right iuste, that thou shouldest aduenture thy goods, where in he aduentured and also lost his life. The affaires of Italie are in peace, in Rome ther is no mutinous person, in Asia, & Africa, there is no common wealth out of quiet: the cause therof procedeth, of y<sup>e</sup> great affectiō which they did beare vnto thy father: and of the greate power, y<sup>e</sup> here they vnderstand his sonne doth posseſſe, which if thou forſake, & lose therewithall so great reputatiō: thou shalt leauie the Barbarians in peace, and make warre against thy ſelf. If thou (my ſonne) wilt obteine rest and a good life, ſuſteine and conſerue that which thy father did winne and gette in time of his life: and thou ſhalte finde, that he conquered all, wonne all, recouered all, and made all plaine: and it is not vniuſtly ſaide, that he had all: for if he conqueſted walles with armour, he wonne hartes with good woorkes and noble deedes. My ſonne, what wilte thou ſecke out of Panonia, y<sup>e</sup> thou mayest not find in Panonia: if thou desire to ſee Rome, I giue thee vnderſtanding, that true Rome is where the Emperour of Rome is resident: because Rome is not holden for Rome, for the ſtately walles where with it is compaſſed, but for the heroicall men wher with it is gouerned.

If thou wilt haue riches, behold here is y<sup>e</sup> treasure and the collectors thereof. If thou wilt haue men of counſell, here is the whole ſacred Senate. If thou wilte haue men of noble mindes, there are none in the worlde, as thofe of thine armie.

If thou wilte haue lustie younge men of thine age, here are the ſonnes of all the noble Romaines.

If

If thou wilt fish, behold here the great riuer Danubie, if thou wilt hunte and chace the wilde beaſte, here are ſharpe mountaines, if thou wilte haue faire women, behold here women both of Rome and Germanie moſte beautiſfull. If this be true, as it is moſt true, wherefore my ſonne wilt thou departe from Rome, to go and ſecke Rome? If vpon the ſoudaine thou leauie this warre, thou ſhalt ſtaine thy fame with a greate blemiſh, and alſo put thy common wealth in great daunger: because the barbarous ſhal thinke, that thy power is not ſufficient to ouercome them, and alſo that thou dareſt not attempt to affaile them. Thy father leſte thee with greate power, and greate reputatiō in the Empire: and thou (my ſonne) ſhouldest rather bend and fixe thine eyēs to conſerue thy reputatiō, then thy potencie: because thy power only profiteth againſt thine enimies: but thy reputation profiteth to conquer enimies, & to conſerue friends. And thou oughtest not to conceiue or think that y<sup>e</sup> power of the Romaine princes is ſo great, that it lieth in their handes at their owne likinge to make warre or peace with the barbarous nations: because there is nothing wherin fortune is leſſe coꝛreſpondent then Martial affaires. The good princes ought to do muſhē, trauell muſhē, and alſo aduenture muſhē, to avoyde warre and to obteine peace: but after they are determined to attempt and prosecute the ſame, they ought to reſpecte nothing more then the finishing thereof: because many euiles are cutte off, by a good warre, which may not be finished or brought to paſſe with a ſuspicioſ or a doubtfull peace. It is greate folly for any man to endaunger him ſelfe, onely vpon the hope of a remedie: but much more is it, when a man

L.iii.

hath

## The life of the

hath alredie thrusht him selfe into daunger, not to  
seeke to escape the peril thereof.

## CHAP. V.

How Commodus left the warres of  
Panonia to go to Rome.

After that Pompeyanus had ended his Oration, Commodus did shew him selfe offended, for the opening thereof in so commonon assembly, and pleased for the iug-  
grie of his woordes, giuing for an answere, that for the  
present he woulde deferre his departing: vntill ripe coun-  
sell, shoulde determine some other matter. Not withstan-  
ding his small age, he was of such dissimulation in mat-  
ters he woulde bringe to passe, and so double in his words  
which he did speake, that the aunswere which he made,  
was not to the intente to stay his departing, but to con-  
firme them in negligence and want of prouidence. It was  
published in the whole armie, what Pompeyanus had sayd  
vnto Commodus, and that the departing into Italie was  
deferred vntill the warres were finished: of which newes  
some were pleased, and some displeased: because the au-  
cient and vertuous wished all thinges to be done to the  
honour of the common wealth: but the younger persons  
and such as were vitiuous, had desire to go to the vices of  
Rome. Some remaining quiet, and others negligent,  
Commodus determined to proceede with his purpose: and  
wrote certeine letters vnto Rome, wherin he commaun-  
ded, they shoulde order his house and prepare for his com-  
minge: and he did also write, that they shoulde relieue him  
with some menye, for that with the warres he was much  
consumed. His letters being dispatched vnto Rome, Com-  
modus commaunded all the valiant captiuns to come vnto  
his presence, with whome he did communiate the  
maner

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maner and fashion which he woulde vse with those bar-  
barous people, to frame them to yeald to some honest  
truce: & if a better coēlusion might not be obtained, to finish  
the same with a peace dearly bought. After that messen-  
gers had passed betwixt Commodus and the Barbarians  
diverly to and fro: in the ende it was resolued, that he  
rendered many countries, that had bene taken from the  
enimies, and also gaue the a great summe of money: and  
they promised to continue friendes, but not vassals vnto  
the Romaines. This conclusion being knowne and publi-  
shed, was not a little grieuous vnto all noble minds of the  
armie: because most truely the capitulation thereof was  
too too infamous, that in respect of the state of those warrs  
it was not onely not to be done, either as much as to be  
talked of. Of these infamous conclusions, and þ painemente  
of so greate summes of money, he gaue no parte therof vnto  
þ Senate or governours to understande, but vnto such  
men of warre as he vnderstoode had desire to be gone, and  
such as he thought durst not repugne. The fame beinge  
published that Commodus would depart towards Rome,  
the whole armie was so altered, that none would remayne  
in the frontiers, but that every man without order, pre-  
pared with greate hast to returne into Italie: in such wise  
that Commodus, not onely ceased to continue hostilitie a-  
gainst þ Barbarians, but also left no garrisons, to guard  
the Romaine people. The Emperour Commodus par-  
ted from Panonia to go to Rome, þ tenth day of þ moneth  
of Februarie: and so greate was his desire to come to  
Rome, that in many cities which were in his way, where  
they came forth to receiue him, he would not onely stay to  
heare what they would say, either receiue þ which they  
would present: but also alone and disguised, in poste  
woulde passe theire streets.

Incredible was the pleasure which they received in  
Rome, when Commodus bid vrite of his partinge from  
Panonia: but muche greater was their ioye, when  
they vnderstoode that he was at hande: for remembryng

that he was borne amongst them, and that they had byrd and nourished him, and that he was the sonne of so good a father : they helde it for certeine, that in his time Rome (more then ever it did) shoulde flourish, and that every man in particular shoulde augment his estate. In respect of the greate loue and reuerence they did bear unto the father Marcus Aurelius, and the reporte blowne amongst the Romanes of hys singular beautie of his sonne Commodus, they did so extremly desire to see him, that he held him selfe most happy that came furthest off to receive him. Marche was halfe past when Commodus came to Rome, at which time trees do yealde forth their flowers ; and fieldes their fragrant smelles : against the day that he shoulde enter Rome, the Romanes had made all wayes even and cleane, and banqueting houses deckte with boughes to eate and drincke in : the Senatours came forth in great order, the women of Rome in sumptuous apparel, & the townesmen all with boughes and greene braunches, in such manner they received him that day with as greate pleasure and joy, as if he had entered in his charioote triumphant triumphing of all Asia. After he entred the citie, that whiche he firsste did, was, in visitinge all the temples within the same: chieflye he stayed in hys temple of Jupiter, where he offered sumptuous sacrifices, all the noble men of Rome being present. Also he did visite certaine auncient sepulchers, especially hys sepulchre of Adrian, of Traiane, of Antonius Pius his grandfather, of Faustina his grand mother, & Faustina also his mother: and some thinges hys were in them euill handled, or decayed, he commaunded to be repaired and made better. Joyning unto the sepulchre of Adrian, he commaunded another sepulchre to be made, riche and sumptuous, wherein the bones of his father Marcus Aurelius shoulde be translated, which sepulchre being finished, and having in remembrance howe greate loue Marcus Aurelius did bear them, and the god & sincere dealing he vsed with them, the Romanes did visite, honour, and helde his sepulchre in as greate reuerence, as their

their chieffest temples. This done, Commodus on a day went unto hys Senate, saying and giuinge them warning, that in all and for all thinges, they shoulde fellowe the ordinaunce of his father, and perorme and execute all that he had commaunded them : because after this manner, the imperial state shoulde be conserued as concerning straunge nations : and the common wealth wel gouerned amongst them selues. Also hee commaunded all Judges of Rome to come before him, charginge and commaundinge them, that without all exception of persons, equally to giue sentence accordinge to iustice : with a warninge, that if any of them shoulde presume to attempt the contrarie, to haue his sentence revoked, and his person chaliced.

The Romanes received greate delight, to see howe Commodus was obedient unto the Gods, a louer of temples, grateful unto his friendes, and zealous of the common welth: but alas for sorowe, so fewe were the monethes, and also the dayes, that this gratiouse heate endured, that it seemed rather they had dreameit, then that he had done or perormed it.

## CHAP. VI.

Howe Commodus was cruell, and of the cruelties which he vsed.

In the nineteenth yeare of his age and the thirde yeare of his Empire, he aduertised the Senate, that he would visite all the cities in Italie : at his departinge from Rome he went unto the mountaines to hunte, on whiche chace, many were the dayes that he imployed, much mony hee spente, but muche and many more were the vices which he there committed.

These monethes and odde dayes he went a fishinge at riuers, passinge the fieldes, and huntinge in mountaines: in all whiche time he never entered citie, towne, or vilage, either slepte in anye house : and then sent his

commaundement vnto the Senate to prepare a triumph,  
for that he woulde enter triumphinge into Rome: affir-  
ming, that he better deserued triumph, for killing beasts  
that did eate coyne, then other Emperours for killinge of  
men that lived in townes. The Senate neither myght or  
durst, but to receiue him with great triumph: & the abho-  
minable Commodus, most odiously in the chariot trium-  
phant, placed a younge man named Anterus, and o-  
pely, after the manner of man and wife, did imbrace eche  
other. In his progresse and pastimes whiche hee vseid in  
those mountaines, he lost no parte of his euill customes:  
but rather added euill vpon euill: that is to say, the fierce-  
nesse which he recovered in slaying of wilde beasts, after  
his comming to Rome he imployed in murdering of ma-  
ny honourable personages. As touchinge the first, it is to  
wete he banished xxxiiii. Consuls, posset their gods, and  
made a rewarde therof vnto his strumpets, & other infa-  
mous persons: whereof fwe by impotunate suite, of his  
gratiouse fauour were restored to their houses, and short-  
ly after he cutt off their heads. There was in Rome a  
Senatour named Birrius, a man in y days of Marcus Au-  
relius much esteemed, who deserued to marry with a sister  
of Commodus: who for that he warned and informed  
Commodus of his euill and soule life, he commaunded  
him and all his friends to be slaine: and also al the allies and  
seruants vnto his sister.

From the time of Commodus father, there was re-  
maining a certaine prefect named Ebutianus a man mosse-  
truely auncient in yeares, and no yonglinge in vertues:  
Commodus being aduertised that Ebutianus had much la-  
mented the death of the Consul Birrius; vnto whom Com-  
modus sent a messenger to say vnto him: that he woulde  
understand of him, if he woulde weepe for the death  
whiche he sente him, as he had weept with the life which  
he possessed: whiche being saide, by the commaundement  
of Commodus he cutt off his head.

Another Senatour named Apolaustus, who also sozow-  
ed

ed the death of Ebutianus, Commodus commaunded to ,  
be slaine.

The daye that Apolaustus was executed certeine ,  
young gentlemen of Commodus his chamber, when they ,  
vnderstode of execution done vnto such as mourned ,  
for Ebutianus: they deuised to make a shewe of great ioye ,  
for the death of Apolaustus to escape the like daunger: ,  
whereof Commodus being aduertised, he commaunded ,  
their throttes to be cutte: saying y for any acte done of the ,  
prince, they ought neither to laugh or weepe: but heare ,  
and see and holde their peace. Also he slew Seruilius and ,  
Dulius with all their parentage which were descended of ,  
the linage of Silla: and he slew Antius Lupus Petroni- ,  
us, and Mamertus, with all their bande, which were of ,  
the linage of Marius, affirminge, that he executed the Sil- ,  
lans, to reuenge the Marians, and executed the Mari- ,  
ans to reuenge the Sillans.

There was in Rome a younge gentleman a couesen to ,  
Commodus, both very faire and valiant: and one saying ,  
by chaunce vnto Commodus, that Mamertus Antoni- ,  
anus his couesen, did resemble him in fauour, and imitate ,  
him in valiantnesse: he commaunded them both present- ,  
ly to be slaine, affirming, that he shoulde be an Emperour ,  
that did so resemble and compare with him. Amongst o-  
ther anciente Romaines, there were sixe olde Consuls ,  
whose names were, Alius Fuscus, Celius Felices, Lucius ,  
Torquatus, Alatius Ropiatius, Valerius Basilius and ,  
Patalius Magnus, who for their impotencie were not a- ,  
ble to come vnto the Senate, he commaunded them all to ,  
be slaine: saying, that he was bounde to do in Rome, as ,  
the good gardener in his orchard: y is to say, that the drie ,  
olde tree must be cutte or puld vp by the roote and cast ,  
into the fire. In the governement of Asia, the Senate had ,  
placed Sulpitius Crassus, Iulius Proculus, and ,  
Claudius Lucanus, as Proconsuls to generne those ,  
provinces: whome with their families, Commodus ,  
gave order to be murthered with poyson: because in ,  
his

„ his presence they were praised, for their dēedes done in A-  
 „ sia : and also for communication, which they had of his e-  
 „ nīls committed in Rome. Marcus Aurelius visitinge the  
 „ kingdome of Achiaia, had boorne vnto him a speeche, and  
 „ daughter of his sister, named Anna Faustina, whome also  
 „ Commodus commaunded to be slayne : but the quarell  
 „ that he had to take away her life, was, for that shē had  
 „ married without his licence. On a certaine day vpon the  
 „ bridge of Tiber, were fourteene noble Romaines talking  
 „ and passinge the time : and Commodus at that instant  
 „ passinge that way, saide vnto one that he shoulde demaunde  
 „ as of him selfe, whereof they talked: vnto whome they an-  
 „ swered, that they were recountinge the vertues of Mar-  
 „ cus Aurelius, and that they had great sorrowe of his death.  
 „ Commodus hearing this answere, presently and out of  
 „ hande, commaunded all the xiii. gentlemen to be hurled  
 „ headlong ouer the bridge into the riuier: affirming, that  
 „ they coulde not speake well of his father, but that they  
 „ must speake evill of him which was his sonne. He woulde  
 „ many times play with the sworde players: and betwixte  
 „ ieste and earnest he killed a thousand of them. He was so  
 „ cruell of nature, and so doughtie in his dēedes, that he had  
 „ no scruple to kill, either feare to be slaine. Commodus  
 „ perceiuinge that al the Romaines fledd, either to see, heare,  
 „ speake, or to be conuersant with him, so no other ende but  
 „ to auoyde occasion to be slaine at his handes; he remem-  
 „ bred to inuerte a conspiracie, which is to weete, to say and  
 „ publishe, that many had conspired against him to his de-  
 „ struction: all which he commaunded to be strangled and  
 „ cutt in pieces, notwithstandinge that any suche conspira-  
 „ cie was never thought of or intended.

## C H A P. VII.

Of a certaine conspiracie attempted against Cōmo-  
 dus, and of Perennius his most fauou-  
 red counsellour.

Amongest

A mongst other sisters, Commodus had one named Lu-  
 cilla who in h̄ life of her father Marcus Aurelius, ma-  
 ried with a Consul whose name was Lucius Verus, whōe  
 he admitted with him selfe to be cōpanion in the Empire,  
 by such meane as Lucilla was intituled Empresse, & her  
 husbande Emperour. But a yere and three monethes,  
 Lucius Verus liued as companion in the Empire with  
 Marcus Aurelius, his father in lawe: in suchē wise,  
 that euen then, when he was very younge, he losse his  
 life, and Lucilla as younge became a widowe. Lucius  
 Verus being dead, Marcus Aurelius married his daugh-  
 ter Lucilla vnto a noble Romaine named Pompeyanus, a  
 man verie wise in letters, experte in armes, and aunciente  
 in yeares. After the death of Marcus Aurelius, Com-  
 modus succeeding in the Empire, and not then married,  
 did alwayes intreate his sister Lucilla as Empresse, for  
 as muche as shē had beene wife vnto an Emperour: and  
 also being an auncient custome, continued in the malice  
 of man, that although the state be finished, and the goods  
 consumed; notwithstandinge fully remaineth. Thus stode  
 the ease: Commodus was after married vnto a Romaine  
 ladie named Crispina, vnto whome from thence foorth  
 honour was done, that was accustomed to be vled vnto  
 Lucilla, ȳ is to say, in h̄ Theatre or open place to sitt in h̄  
 chiefeſt ſeate, to receive giftes & presents of free men, and  
 by the ways to haue torchlight, and to be recited by name  
 in prayers made in Temples. Mōrtall was the enuie that  
 Lucilla receiued, to beholde the honour imperiall whiche  
 shē had once in poſſeſſion, to be remoued, and passe vnto  
 her ſister Crispina: and from thence foorth, all her deuice,  
 practise, and ſpeach, tended but to ridde her brother Com-  
 modus of his life, and Crispina her ſister in lawe of her ho-  
 nour.

There was at courſe with the prince a young gentle-  
 man of Rome, of noble bloude, & of face beautifull, with  
 whom it was b̄uted, Lucilla vled vnhonest loue: his name  
 was Quadratus, the ſonne of a very riche father, vnto  
 whom

" whome shē discouered the secrete of her intent, to kill her  
" brother Commodus, because he persecuted her husbande  
" Pompeyanus, & the Empresse Crispina did deadly hate her.  
" Quadratus desirous to do Lucilla a pleasure, consent-  
" ed to perforne that act, & the order which he vised therin  
" was, that he ioyned in counsell with the sonne of a Sena-  
" tor named Quincianus, a yong man both doughtie & va-  
" liant: who shoulde vpon the soudaine, with a swwoord  
" drawne, enter vpon Commodus in his chamber, with  
" these words: This present the Senate sendeth thee: and at  
" the instante to cutt off his life. Quincianus accepted this  
" enterprise; that is to say, to kill the Emperour Commo-  
" dus: but failed at the time of the execution thereof: for  
" notwithstanding he had courage sufficient to enter y cham-  
" ber with a sword drawen, yet to perforne the dede his hart  
" was dismaide: in such wise, that the treason was vttered  
" and the dæde vperformed.

" Quincianus was presently taken, and discouered the  
" conspiracie that Quadratus and Lucilla had devised for the  
" destruclio of the Emperour Commodus. And for as much  
" as Quincianus was sonne vnto a Senatour, Commodus  
" did bear so mortall hatred vnto the Senate, that from  
" thence forth, whosoever named him selfe a Senatour, he  
" helde him for a traitour. Immediately after Commodus  
" beganne to reigne, a warlike capteine named Perennius  
" was fell into his fauour: who in martiall affaires was be-  
" rie experte, and of inclination and condition no lesse per-  
" uerse: for his pride was intollerable, & his couetousnesse,  
" insatiable. The fauour, conuersation, and credite, that  
" Perennius had with Commodus was to the greate prieu-  
" dice of al the Romaine people: because if Commodus were  
" cruell, Perennius was most cruell: if Commodus had yre,  
" Perennius did persuade to take vengeance: and beyonde al  
" the rest, did not disuade from vice, but inuented new de-  
" vises to leade vnto wickednesse. Pompeyanus being a mā  
" both honourable and aunciente, and husband vnto Lucilla  
" suster vnto Commodus, the Emperour did bear him

some

some reuerence: and ioyntly therewith, Lucilla had the  
" same of great riches, in money & iewells: wherof proceeded  
" no small displeasure vnto Perennius, whoe hardely indu-  
" red the estimation of others in the courte of the Empe-  
" rour Commodus.

Where vpon, the treason being discouered, he with  
" greate impatience did incite the Emperour Commodus,  
" on Pompeyanus and Lucilla to execute cruel iustice, which  
" he incessantly persuaded, not for iustice sake, but to finish y  
" fauour which the Emperour did bear vnto Pompeyanus,  
" and to gette vnto him selfe the treasure of the ladie,  
" Lucilla.

When princes be in yre, and furious, they haue much to  
" consider, of whome they demaunde counsell: because, not  
" a fewe but manie times it hapneth, that the priuate and fa-  
" ououred courtiour giueth counsell vnto the prince, not so  
" muche for the fauour he beareth to the execution of ius-  
" tice, as for the reuengement of his owne cruell and dam-  
" nified harte. The tyrant Perennius beholding Commodus  
" inflamed with yre, did knowe to take the profite and be-  
" nefite of time: that is to say, Pompeyanus, Lucilla, Qua-  
" dratus, Quincianus and al their affinitie, brothers, friends  
" & seruants, he caused to be slaine, put to death, their goods  
" to be confiscate, in such wise, that he was not onlie reuen-  
" ged of all his enimies, but also applied vnto him selfe all  
" their treasure.

After the death of these persons, all the affaires  
" of the Empire were gouerned at the will, wisedome,  
" & pleasure of Perennius; who grewe to be a lord so absolute  
" of the Empire, that al ambassages that came to Commo-  
" dus, he only heard them: and all letters missive he reade  
" and answered them, in such manner, that Commodus  
" bare y name of Emperour, & Perennius did enice the em-  
" pire. All offices and rewards being giuen by the handes of  
" Perennius, procured seruice and diligence from all men, y  
" in as much, as he that might do most, saud most: but he  
" was so harde of condicōn, and of golde and riches so cruel  
" and

and covetous, that of mere grace he gaue no office, but  
by the weight of pure money alwayes did sell the same:  
and to him that woulde not buy, hee gaue presentes more  
deare then the money which he demanded. Perennius  
had enrold the names of all the moneyed men in Italie,  
whiche if they did not present him some riche iuels, hee  
procured them to be placed in offices: wherein he did seek  
quarells, to spoile them of their liues, and to robbe them  
of their goods.

## CHAP. VIII.

Of a conspiracie that Perennius wrought  
against the Emperour Commodus.

In verye shorte time Perennius became very riche, but  
his presumption and riches being examined and laide to-  
gether, without comparison muche greater was the pride  
whiche he did shewe, then the treasures which he posse-  
sed. Commodus had suche confidence in Perennius, that he  
not onely committed vnto him the gouernement of the  
whole common wealth, but also the order and honour of  
his house: in so muche that Perennius was of the one and  
the other so absolute & so dissolute, that he was not conten-  
ted to robbe Commodus of his riches, but also vsed vnlaw-  
full companie with his owne especiall courtisans, by whiche  
he had both sonnes and daughters. Perennius had sonnes  
growne to mans estate, whiche were in the armes: and  
when any notable deede was done in the warres, he would  
repose at the Emperours table, that it was perfourmed  
and atchived by his sonnes: in such wise, that fro them y  
were in peace he bereft their gods, and them that died in y  
warrs he spoiled of their honour. In y fifte yeare of Com-  
modus reigne, the Senate sent an huge armie against the  
Britaines, whereof Perennius was admitted both Consul  
and capteine: in whiche iourney he was not satisfied, to be  
served as one in fauour, and obeyed as Consul: but woulde  
hee reuerence as a prince, and adored as a God.

Perennius

Perennius prospering in his martiall affaires, and holding  
the whole common wealth in his owne handes, and pos-  
sessing wealth aboue all reckoning, he then immagined  
to want nothing but the attaintement of the Romaine em-  
pire: for the accomplishment whereof, he throughly de-  
termined to kill his Lorde and maister Commodus, pla-  
cing his sonnes Proctozs ouer all the armes, to be readie  
at hande in time vpon the newes of the death of the Em-  
perour Commodus. Perennius also had drawne vnto  
his parciall certeine Senatoures, and other the wel-  
thiest neighbours and citizens of Rome by giftes and re-  
wardes in secret, but in especiall by aggravating the wic-  
ked life of Commodus. On the fourth day of May, the  
Romaines did celebrate the greate feast of Jupiter Capi-  
toline, whereunto not onely the whole people of Rome,  
but also of all cities of Italie did concurre: and when the  
Emperour on that day was resident in Rome, alwayes in  
his owne person went to authorize and see the feast. The  
Emperour Commodus beholding the playes and page-  
ants prouided for that triumph, and Crispina his wife  
being placed on the one hande, and Perennius the priuate  
and greatly fauoured courtier, set on the other hande:  
they behelde a carte comming al couered with boughes,  
crying continually for rōme and audience. And when  
they were come vnto the presence of the Emperour Co-  
modus and all persons by his commaundement vsing si-  
lence, the people thinking they would haue vttered some  
pageant or matter of disporte: soudeinly there appeared a  
man aloft vpon the carte, which had a long bearde, a  
shephearde's hooke in one hande, and a sling in the other:  
and from the girdle vppwarde all naked, his other gar-  
ments very pore, and after the manner of a Philosopher,  
and directing his wordes vnto Commodus, saide:

## The Oration to Commodus

O Commodus, it well seemeth that thou arte a

M.i.

Prince,

Prince, and that verie young, whiche arte in these playes and delightes so carelesse and negligent, which thou oughtest not to doe, because Princes of thy age, estate, and condition, runne muche more in perill, in their excessiue pleasures, then in their meane trauailes. Being (as thou arte) rigorous with thine owne, and furious and vnbridled with straungers, thou oughtest to consider, and not to be vnmindfull, that thou hast enimies: for the Prince that is feared of manie, hath iust cause also to feare manie. The greatest riches, and the best treasure in this world, is trueth, whereof Princes be moste poore of all people: for that their eares being fild and led away with lyes, may take no taste in matters of trueth. Thou Commodus and other Princes, do not euil gouerne your common wealthes of any prepenced malice to destroye the same: but because ye giue not, either delight your selues to heare the poore that be grieved and oppressed, when they complaine, neither the good, godly, and vertuous, when they giue aduise-ment, of the greate and horrible vices of briberie, extortiōn, and violent robberies, committed by offi-cers, by the priuate and fauoured, by the mightie and men of power. Great is the fault of Princes, for the vices which they committ, but much greater is their offence in dissembling the offences of their fauoured seruaunts, because ye offend not, but onely the Gods, but they both offend the Gods, vexe and trouble men, & are traitours to your own persons. Although Commodus, thou be licentious, dissolute, wilfull, & also not very honest: it is impossible, but if the hurtes and mischiefes, scandals, and robberies, committed by thy officers & fauoured seruants, were notified & giuen

giuen thee to vnderstand, thou wouldest committind them to be amēded, & also to be remedied: for in the ende there is no Prince so euill, that desireth not his common wealth to flourish. At these dayes, trueth in Princes houses is so odious, that who so aduentureth but to make reporte therof, of death he must haue determination: and if any such do escape with life, it proceedeth of some conceite to be spoken of madnesse: That, which at this present I will say & discouer, I protest vnto the immortal Gods, it proceedeth not of madnesse, for that my natural iudgement is confirmed with reason: either do I say it of malice, to be reuenged of any person: but onely (Oh Commodus) to deliuer thy life of great peril, and to franchise Rome from seruitude of a tyrant: for that which I presume to saye, and aduenture to discouer, I am assurēd before my tale be ended, my life shalbe taken away. But (O Commodus) I giue thee to vnderstande, that if thou wilt not giue faith vnto my woordes, the time will come, when thou shalt vnderstand the trueth, of all that I haue saide, when thy mischiefe may haue no remedie. Thou (Commodus) art there set & placed, with the Empresse Crispina on thy right hand, & on thy left hand thy priuate & fauoured Perennius, but hadst thou certeine intelligēce, what he hath ordeined against thee, with thine owne hands y wouldest buriē him quick. Perennius hath not been satisfied, to put to death all good men, to be reuenged of his enimies, to haue destroyed all thy seruants, to haue robbed all thy treasures: but that nowe he practiseth to take away thine owne life, to aduaunce and exalt him selfe to the whole power of this citie and common wealth.

O Commodus, if thou knowe not, I give thee to understand, y the sonnes of Perennius, by fraud haue incel'd thy armes of Illyria agaist the. Perennius him selfe ceaseth not to corrupt the Senate, and secretly seeketh to winne the mindes of men, giuing giftes, and large rewardes vnto the people: and all to the ende that vpon the first newes of thy death, without contradicciō, he may possesse y whole estate of y Romane Empire. And think not, that Perennius doth now begin to attēpt this treason, for y of great certeintie I do assure thee, that many dayes past he hath put the same in practise, & is vpon the point, at this instant, to haue it to be executed: in so much that if on this day I had not aduentured to give thee warning, be thou assured, that on this present day before this feast had benc finisched, thy life had here bene ended.

Until that pore man had saide, that on that day Commodus death was prepared, not onely the people gaue care, but also Perennius: whoe presently rose out of his chayre with greate furie, commaunding the sword players to kill that presumptuous and rashe dizarde, who was presently slaine, drawne, cut in peeces and burnt. Perennius of all men so deadly hated, by this pore mannes tale, funke into suspicion of the people, and also Commodus conceiued against him some scruple: but that Philosopher beynge there slaine, and Perennius in so greate power, although they had all suspicion of his treason, yet no man there durst speake a wozde. The matter remaining certeine dayes moze suspicuous then cleare: there came gentlemen from Illyria, and brought certain peeces of golde, wherein bothe the name & also the Image of Perennius was ingrauen: whiche mooney Perennius commaunded his sonnes in greate secrete to be mape.

The

The coyners thereof being aduertised what the Philosopher had saide, and being in greate doubt in processe of time to be discouered, came vnto Commodus and manifested the whole matter, which were not onely pardoned, but also largely rewarded. The treason being detected, which the traitour and tyzant Perennius had denised, it seemed god vnto the friendes of Commodus, and the enimies of Perennius, to the ende to deliuer him from all suspicion, fir st and immediately to cut off his head: for that Perennius being guilefull, and in great power, might haue preuented his owne execution with the slaughter of others.

A great parte of the night being past, and Perennius reposing in his owne house, Commodus commaunded him to be called in great haste, aduertising him at the instant of letters out of Asia: who entring the Emperours chamber, founde not Commodus, but yet wanted not that presently cut off his head. At the instant that Perennius was put to death, a post with greate spedē was sent into Illyria, by whome Commodus did write vnto the sonnes of Perennius, that all thinges set aparte, they shoulde repaire to Rome to visite their father being sickle in his bedde: to the ende that if the destinies shoulde permit his death, to succēde in his place. The sonnes of Perennius did well thinke that all had bēne truthe which was written vnto them, and nothing doubting the detection of their treason, presently departed towards Rome: but at their entrie of the first citie of Italie, they were made shorter by bothe their heades. This in conclusion was the ende of y tyzant Perennius, which lost his sonnes, his goods, his honour, and his life: not rather for any mischiese, then for his presumption and pride. Of this example, let all Princes take warning, howe they magnifie their seruautes with too greate wealth and power: and this is saide, because potencie engendreth enuie; and overmuch riches doth breedē and bring forth pride.

¶ Of the tyrant Maternus, and of his treason against Commodus.

Exceeding ioy did the Romaines receive of the death of Perennius, and his sonnes, because his auarice and pride was more sharpe and intollerable, then the folly of Commodus. The offices of Perennius were diuided amongst many: because it seemed, that so greate authortie and power, to be placed and committed in one person, were to put his life in perill, and his Empire to commision. Incredible and innumerable were the richesse, iewels, and money, that were confiscate by the death of Perennius and his sonnes: but they were so wilfully and wickedly diuided and spent, that whatsoeuer Perennius gathered by extortiōn and briberie, Commodus spent & imployed in vices. There was in those dayes in Italie a certeine man named Maternus, who from his childhood was bred in the armes of Illyria; of nature bolde and valiant, subtile, painefull, sharpe or quicke, proude, seditious, and stammering, in such wise, that as he was filthie of his young, so was he soudeine of his handes. In all debates, seditions, and mutinies which happened in the campes, or cities, this Maternus was ever founde one, either the chiefe authour thereof, or else to be noted above the rest, because they saye, this was his common speache, that on that daye, wherein he shed no bloude, wine had no good relishe. The captaines of the armes did partly bear with him for his valiantrie, but on the other side, they might not endure his continuall quarrelles, and in the ende his lewdnesse being groven intollerable, they did not nicely dispatche him from the warres, but also did banishe him the confines of Italie.

This Maternus being a ringleader of all wicked and desperate persons that were in the armes, many diu-

companie and also followe him in that exile: not to remaine as bounde to leade a better life, but to haue libertie to committ muche euil. With those compaioners that Maternus had recovered from the armes, and with others that dayly toynd with him, he obtained vnder his standarde twentie thousande footemen, and two thousande horsemen within the space of fourre monethes: with which people Maternus committed so many robberies, burnings, and slaughters in the cities and territoriēs of Italie, as if an Hanibal had beene raised from the dead to conquerre Rome.

Italie being robbed and sacked, Maternus departed first to Lombardie, and from thence into Fraunce, and after into Spaine; in which kingdomes, he continued in that courtesie whiche he vsed in Italie: and that whiche was moste to be marueiled, was, that his armie daily increased, and no man attempted to resist him, in suche wise, wise, that with them which were present, he did yeld occasion to be busied, and with them that were absent, he ministred matter of communication. This tyrant Maternus and his people, helde no other trade but to rob temples, to sacke townes, to scowre the fieldes, to spoyle coyne, to burne houses, to force women, to defile virgins: and that whiche was worse, that not contented for them selues to liue at libertie, they brake prisons, and set at large all malefactours.

It is amongest euils the supreme euil, and in tyrantes the greatest tyrannie, that they of them selues will not liue according to reason and iustice, but that also they wil not consent that malefactours be committed to iustice. Maternus and his armie remaining in Spaine, Cōmodus wrote vnto all the Pretors of those countries, to raise an armie of great power, to destroy the tyrant Maternus, and to make greate promises by publique proclamations, that vnto him whiche should cutt off the heade, or take the bodie or person of Maternus, shoulde haue in rewarde all his godes, and his picture aduaunced and

set vp in Rome.  
 The first proclamations were published in Saragosa,  
 at which time Maternus was resident in Taragon, who  
 being aduertised that they of Spaine prepared an armie  
 against him, and that amongst the captaines great wa-  
 gers were laide, who shoulde first ridde him of his life: he  
 determined to returne into Italic with determination to  
 kill Commodus in Rome. Where vpon Maternus mosse  
 secreatly conserred, with his chief and special friends & ar-  
 ranfest theues and most doughtie personages, to forfiske  
 the armye: severally diuidinge them selues, by sundrye  
 wayes vpon one certaine and appointed day without faile  
 to make their meetingin Rome. Presently after Maternus  
 was gonue out of sight, al y remnant of his army was dis-  
 maide and fel in pieces, wherof there were infinite taken,  
 strangled, drowned, drawne & haged: in such wise, that in so  
 great a number of theues, none had better aduenture, then  
 to be slaine or put to death, except he had friendly fauour of  
 fortune to be made a bondman. Maternus & his cōpanions,  
 the day, houre, & place, on which they had agreed in Spaine,  
 ioyntly did encounter at Rome: whiche for a time wente  
 dispersed & disguised by day, but ioyned by night to com-  
 mit their thefes: being furnished for their prouision,  
 but onely with suche prouision as they might pick by day,  
 and steale by night, wherein they vsed so greate shifles,  
 guile, and skill, that although they accompaied but by  
 couples, yet, if the warde or watche by daye or night did  
 attempt to arrest or offend any one, at an instant they  
 were all ready for his defence: in such wise, that although  
 they wer of great disorder in their life: yet they vsed greate  
 conformitie in agreement for the manner and fashion of  
 their robberies.

One of the things wherein the malice of man moste  
 readily doeth shewe it selfe is, that to doe euill, wee are  
 soone agreed: but to perfourme a good woorke, wee con-  
 sent with greate difficultie.

Commodus was well persuaded, that the tyraunt  
 Matern

Maternus was nowe deade, imagining in his owne con-  
 teit, that at the forfaking of his campe, and renouncing of  
 his armie, of extreme desperation and horrore of him selfe,  
 he had desperatly drowned or committed him selfe to the  
 halter. But Maternus in recompence of the losse of his  
 potencie, and negligence of his honoure, bent all his studie to  
 deliuer Commodus from his life. The Romaines helde a  
 custome vpon the tenth day of Marche, to celebrate the  
 feast of the Goddesse Berecyntha: on that day the Empe-  
 rour and the Senate went vnto her temple, to offer sacri-  
 fices, which done and perfourmed, generally all persons for  
 the most part disguised them selues, masking and feasting  
 throught the whole citie: in suche maner, their faces  
 being couered, the one was unknowne vnto the other. Ma-  
 ternus and other his fellowe theues and friendes, had a  
 greed to weare secrete armour, with face disguised, that  
 when the Emperour Commodus should most chiefly be  
 addicted to viewe and behelde the playes, and his guarde  
 most carelesse of his person: by a couterfeit braule amongst  
 them selues, to finde ready meane to cut off his life. But  
 notwithstanding Maternus had lost his welth, power, and  
 honour, he ceased not to continue proude, hautie, and dis-  
 dainefull: seeking to be serued and reuerenced, not as a  
 friende and pore companion, but after the manner of a  
 Prince, and as one that were very rich. Wherevpon cer-  
 taine of his companions, being not onely waeryed, but ty-  
 red, to walke lurkingly in corners, and not able to indure  
 to be handled with so greate seruitude: and further, sea-  
 ring some day to be discovered, they repayred vnto Com-  
 modus, and with great secrete manifesting the whole  
 matter, whiche is to wit, that Maternus the tyraunt was a  
 live, and fully determined in those playes and feastes to  
 kill him. Incredible was the feare wherewith Commodus  
 was touched, when he hearde that Maternus the ty-  
 rant was aliuie: and no lesse was his ioy, to consider the  
 conspiracie to be detected: and notwithstanding Commodus  
 had intelligence thereof certaine dayes before the

feast, hee suspended the execution thereof vntill the day of the Goddess Berecyntha: to the end that nothing shoulde be revealed vnto Maternus, of that which was discouered vnto Commodus. The maner that Maternus deuised to murder Commodus, the same did Commodus vse to take and kill Maternus, that is to say: the great day of the feast being come, as Maternus and his band came masked and armed; so Commodus brought forth his men armed and disguised: and with a set quarell the traitour and tyrant Maternus was slaine, and his men cutt all to peeces. The greatest feast of that feast was celebrate, in stragling, hewing, mangling, drawing & burning of the bodies of these miserable theues: because it is an euident lawe for tyrants, that the hurtes, robberies, slauiters, violences, and burninges, which they haue committed in many dayes, they come to make repayment thereof in one houre.

## CHAP. X.

¶ Of the unexpected death of Cleander, a fauoured and most priuate seruant vnto Commodus.

After the death of the tyrant Maternus, the Emperour Commodus passed his life in great doubt and feare, imagining with himselfe, that some day they would dispatch him, either eating or sleeping: for he did both knowe, and also wold say, that they were fewe which prayed for his life, but very many that sighed for his death. Untill Commodus died hee euer walked warely: for hee doubled his guard, to guard him by day, and strongly shute in his house by nighte: in that which hee did eate, in his lodging where he slept, on the palfrey wheron he roade, on the garments which hee did weare, hee set great watche: in such wise, that hee paid it but only with his life that durst touch his garment.

Very selidome he went to the Senate, and much lesse

did ride openly in the citie: hee had no talkie with strangers but by writing: with his subiects he had no conference, but by a person intermitted: and that which was more maruell, hee had many times such conceite, not onely to refuse to write, and weare, heare causes, or dispatch assayres but also in feure or fine dayes would not speake onely one word. In the vi. yeare of his Emperyre, Maternus the tyrant was slaine: on the next yeare there followed a great pestilence, and a generall hunger, in which hunger and pestilence, the third part of Italie was consumed. Immediatly after the pestilence had entred Rome, Commodus departed vnto the citie of Laurento, where were planted many Laurel trees, for which cause the citie was named Laurento: where also the Emperour more remayned, then in any other place: the Physcians giuing him to understand, that to be vnder the shadowe therof, was very proper and conuenient for defence of the pestilence. Notwithstanding the scarste of bread and wine that was that yeare, further, a certaine occasion of great hunger happened in Rome, which was as followeth. When the god Marcus Aurelius triumphed ouer the Argonautes, he brought amongest other captiues a younge man named Cleander: who was openly solde in the market place in Rome, and by chaunce bought by a clarke of the kitchin, to sweape & make cleane the larder at courte. This slau Cleander became so hande in swEEPING, seruing, and pleasing his maister, that not many yeares after, he did not onely make him fre, and marrie him with his daughter, but also did advance him to the office of Clarke of the kitchin: in such maner, that from the estate of a bondman, hee iudged him with the condicione of a sonne. Nowe when Cleander sawe himselfe fre, married, and in office in the Court, he travelled to obteine the god will of the Emperour Marcus Aurelius, which he obeyned by carefulnesse in seruice, and diligence in his office; and vsed therin so great diligence and promptnesse, that he was neuer noted, either slacke in p[ro]position, or false in reckoning.

Marcus Aurelius being deade, Commodus forgate not  
 to remoue Cleander from the assayzes of the kitchin, and  
 made him capitaine of his guard, and Lord great Cham-  
 berlaine of his chamber. Unto none of as many as did  
 serue & accompany Commodus in his youth that hee was  
 gratefull, but unto Cleander: unto whom it had bin much  
 better, neuer to haue risen to so great honour: for thereof  
 onely proceeded the losse of his life. Althoughe the fauour  
 of Cleander did rise in iest or of small causes, he framed in  
 fewe dayes to performe the same in earnest, which was as  
 followeth: that as Commodus grew into disgrace, & was  
 abhored and had no care of the gouernement of the Em-  
 pire, Cleander did presse and in such maner did thronge to  
 entremidle with assayzes, that for the moze part all mat-  
 ter were dispached at his will and pleasure: in such wise,  
 that Commodus gaue or firmed nothinge, if Cleander  
 did not signe or allowe the same. Commodus had neuer  
 any priuate or fauoured seruaunt, that in all points could  
 so wryne his will as Cleander: who affirmed to wilsh no  
 thing, that Commodus wilshed not, either to allowe any  
 thing that hee said not: but aduouched also that he did not  
 thinke or dreame, but that whiche Commodus did dreame  
 and thinke: and with these and suche like lyes and flat-  
 teries, hee wan the hart of Commodus, and obteyned ser-  
 vice of the whole Empire. After Cleander beheld him-  
 selfe the onely priuate and fauoured seruaunt of Com-  
 modus, hee easilly made himselfe rich: obteyning the custo-  
 die, not onely of the whole common treasure, but also the  
 keeping of all the monie and iewels of the Emperour Cō-  
 modus: and further in giuing offices, and receiving pre-  
 sentes, his sinceritie exceeded not. But Cleander finding  
 himselfe in so great magnificence, began not greatly to re-  
 garde so great fauour, or much lesse the obteyning of so  
 great wealth: conceyng in the end, that Commodus did  
 vse him as a vassall, and that hee must accept him as his  
 Lord: to cut off which opprobrie, and to give contentation  
 unto his heart, he determined to kill Commodus, and for  
 him-

himselfe to vsurpe the Empire. Cleander did build at the  
 port Salaria, most costly and delectable bathes, and comau-  
 ded proclamation to be made in Rome, to notifie vnto all  
 men, that would bathe therein, to be discharged of all cost,  
 and frely to vse the same: and also added thereunto great  
 pastimes, and preparations vnto all kinde of vices: in such  
 wise, that there they cleansed their bodies, & defiled their  
 soules. Many times Cleander did invite the Senate, and  
 sent them particular presents home to their houses: The  
 P̄etors, Censors, Questors, Tribunes, P̄efectes, and  
 other Romane officers, he caused their dueties to be payed:  
 and all the men of warre he did not onely pay them, but al-  
 so did trauel to hold them contented: in such maner, that  
 some with vnitious delights and pleasures, and some by re-  
 wards, gifthes, and monie, in a maner he reconered all men  
 for his friendes. In the yeare of great hunger and pesti-  
 lence in Italie, Cleander bought all the wheat in the coun-  
 tries adioyning vnto Rome: wherein his intent was, not  
 to gaine or make a profitte thereof, but to bring Rome into  
 a necessarie, to y end that all men should come to his house  
 for wheate: and therein to haue vsed so great liberalitie, in  
 selling god cheape, and giuing plentifully, in a yeare so  
 deare, that after the death of the Emperour Commodus,  
 they should not mislike to giue him the Empire. And as  
 hunger increased cruelly, a great part of the yeare beeing  
 as yet to come, and the people not knowing Cleanders in-  
 tent, who did neither giue or sell any wheate: soudainly al  
 Rome did rise, reclaming death and treason against Clean-  
 der, as an usurper of the goddes of the common wealth.  
 Cleander being a man valiaunt, of great power, and Cap-  
 taine of the guard, comaundered all the men of his captaine-  
 ship, to be armed: who did place themselves in the com-  
 passe of his house, for the garde of his person, and to resist  
 that civil furie: although it be most true, that hee rather  
 defended the lacking of his house, then of feare to defende  
 his life. The townesmen on the one side, and Cleander on  
 the other part, trauersed amongst themselves so long and  
 perilous

perillous a contention: that it seemed no other matter, but  
that Silla and Marius were once more fallen into fight, for  
the seignoerie of Rome. And as Cleander's partie was de-  
fended with men both arm'd and determined, in the first  
onset they executed so great slaughter amongst the peo-  
ple, that scarcely a streate was to be founde in Rome, that  
was not bathed with bloud: either any place great or li-  
tle, that was not filled with dead bodies. The townesmen  
perceyuing the slaughter and hauocke which the men of  
warre so cruelly did performe amongst them, retired e-  
very man into his house: and fortifying their doores, they  
sought from their windowes and house toppes, and from  
thence threw and whirld out stones, tiles, spitts, potts, and  
caldrons: and in that so common danger, no lesse did womē  
fight then men: & Cleander's partie so hardly handled, that  
scarcely remained a hundred y were not slaine or wounded.  
Whilst these deeds were doing at Rome, Commodus was  
recreating himselfe in an house which he had in an orchard,  
and Cleander being of great power, of some feare, and of  
others beloued, no man durst make report therof unto Co-  
modus, because so strong was the friendship betwixt them,  
that they feared the displeasure of the one, and the unkind-  
nes of them both. There was in the Courte a suster unto  
Commodus named Fadilla: whose eyes being charged wi-  
teares, and tearing her haire from her head, as one in gret  
distresse, said unto her brother Commodus. Most serene  
prince, and right deare brother, if thou wert aduertised of  
the condition and estate of Rome, thou wouldest not be  
so careless solacing in this garden: because I giue thee to  
vnderstand, that the yeome of thy guard in the fauour of  
Cleander, and al the other people of the common wealth,  
haue trauersed amongst themselves so cruell a fight, that  
if prestly at this instant thou prouide not some remedie,  
this day wil be the end of the Romane people. The exce-  
ding honour, the great riches, & to to much faubur which  
thou hast employed vppon Cleander, hath raised him into  
exceeding great pride, wherof although he be in the fault,

yet the occasion hath beeene giuen by thee: for as thou ma-  
kest Lordes of bondmen, it is most certaine that they will  
make slaues of Lords & noble men. The people be so fu-  
rious against Cleander, & Cleander and his men so flesht  
against the people, that thou haste to chuse one of two  
thinges: which is to witt, to yeld Cleander vnto the com-  
mon people, or els to abide what fortune of them and vs  
shalbe proued: for as the case standeth now imposioned, it  
is impossible, that ioyntly thy life and his person this day  
may be preserued. These words being spoken by the in-  
fant Fadilla, all men present recovered new boldnes, per-  
suading Commodus to remoue Cleander from amongst  
them, and so to appease the whole people of Rome: and to  
hold the ease of the common wealth more deare, then the  
friendship or life of Cleander. Commodus hearing these  
matters, & dismayed with feare, forthwith comauied Cle-  
ander to come vnto his presence: and at the instante of his  
appearance, comauied his head to be cut off, which be-  
ing set vpon a lance, and carried about Rome, immediatly  
the whole multitude was pacified. Cleander being put to  
death, his children, seruautes, & friends, were executed,  
whose bodies after they were drawn by boyes through-  
out Rome, were thrown into sinkes and places of vle o-  
dure. This was the conclusion and end of Cleander, and  
the end of his children, his house, goddes, and honour: who  
though for many things, ought to be reprehended, yet one  
ly for one thing he deserueth praise, namely, that he had ra-  
ther die a gentleman, then liue a slau.

## C H A P. X I.

¶ The report of a fire which descended  
from heauen, and burnt in Rome  
the temple of peace.

¶ Ne of the most notable erāples, wherin fortune hath  
discovered the inconstancie of her wheele, was in the  
discourse

discourse that she had vsed wyth Cleander and his house: whoe in shor't space, of a slau made a freeman, of a freeman a Steward, of a Steward a Pretour, of a Pretour a Chamberlaine, & of a Chamberlaine, in effect a Monarche of the world: and afterwards in one day, and in one houre, was vterly destroyed: whereby we haue to learne, that While wee liue in this life, with suretie wee possele nothing. Hee ought not to be dismaide, that from an high estate, is descended vnto a poore degree: neither ought he to glorie or grow proud, that from a base estate, is aduanced to honour: for ther is none in so wretched condition, that hopeth not to growe better: either is there any so set a lost, that needeth not to doubt to catch a fall.

The present day that Cleander was put to death, Commodus repaired vnto his imperial Palace, & never more returned vnto his garden, neither to dwell, either as much as to solace: and if in times past hee had bin cruell, from thence forth hee was much more cruell, and also suspiciois: for hee conceyued that popular sedition proceeded not, to take vengeaunce of Cleander, but for deuice to dispatch him of his life. His friends, his kinsefolks, his counsellers, his seruaunts, his natural subiects, and also strangers, hee held them all his vter enimies: because he doubted that all maner of men, that came to speake with him, came to deceiue him: and such as repaired to visite him, that by treason they would kill him. In the xij. yeare of his Empire on the xvij. day of March, at noone the heauen was scene full of starres, as if it had beene midnight: and that which was most meruell, and never read in bookes, or seen with eyes, that on the euening when the Sunne naturally was accustomed to be scene to sett in the Weste, they beheld rising in the East. In y moneth of July next following, a Comet appeared in heauen, as large as a great beame, and so flamed with fire, directing his sparkles vnto the citie of Rome. On the xx. day of the moneth of August, soudenyly the heauens being cleare, neither rayne or cloude, in Rome there stroke an horrible clap of thunder,

thunder: and after the thunder, there came a globe of fire, which burned the temple, named the temple of peace. This temple in authoritie was most auncient, in buildinges most stately, in riches most wealthie, with priestes most published, and in deuotion most esteemed: because in all other Churches, the Romanes might pray vnto their Gods sitting or standing: but there were forced to pray en their knees. All men which had monie, treasure, iewels, or rich stufte, layd it all vp in the temple of peace: not onely thinking them most safe, by y stronge building of the Church, but also of deuotion to commende and offer their goodes vnto the God of peace, to obteine permission to enjoy quietnes. The losse which the Romanes received, by those flames of fire, did excede all reckoning: for y in a maner all rich men had there their riches burnt & consumed: in such wise, that no heart might endure, either yet dissemble, to heare the cries of men, and the exclamacion of women: every man recounting his losse vnto his neighbour, & ioyntly bewyaling the burning of the temple. Now when the temple of peace was burnt, visibly they did see it passe, vnto the temple of the vestall virgins: which wholy it consumed, leauing no signe of any building thereof. And yet notwithstanding, better order was taken for the remedie thereof, then in the other temple: for presently vpon the kindling of the fire, they tooke out the vestall virgins, whiche there were inclosed, and the reliques which the Romanes had there reposeth. And for as much as wee haue said of reliques, it is to understand, that the Romanes had in that temple the Palladium: that is to say, the image of the goddesse Pallas, which fell from heauen vpon the walls of Troy, and from thence was brought to Rome: which was holden in as great veneration, as the arke of the Lord amonges the Israelites. The Romanes held that Image of the Goddesse Pallas, so shut vp, inclosed and hidden: that long time after shee was brought from Troy, of mortall man being never scene: either of Consul, Emperour, or priest: for they had a prophecie, that in the yeare, in which

that Image shoulde be seene, there shoulde be great change  
in the prosperitie of Rome.

The Romanes remoued their vestall virgins, and the  
Image of their Goddess Pallas, vnto the house of Com-  
modus: and so great was the lamentation amongst the  
Romanes, to beheld their vestall virgins set at large, and  
their Palladium discouered, that without comparison they  
did much more bewaile the burning of their temple of re-  
liquies, then the other temple that conteyned all their ri-  
ches. After this globe of fire had burned the temple of  
Peace, and the temple of Reliques, it burned also many o-  
ther sumptuous buildinges: not burning alongest after  
the manner of other fire, but amongst many houses burnt  
one, and farre off from thence would burne another: wher-  
of the Romanes did gather, that it was not the fire in vse  
amongst men, seruynge onely to burne: but a fire sent from  
the Gods, to consume and chastise. These terrible fire-  
inges, and prodigious spectacles, of the Romanes being co-  
sidered, if vntill that time they did wilthe the Emperour e-  
uill, from thenceforth they could neither endure to behold  
him, either abide with patience to heare his name: for  
they held it for certeintie, that all those euill signes wher-  
with the Gods did threaten the Common wealth, were  
all sent for his soule and filthie life. This globe of fire  
continued by the space of a xi. dayes: in all which time it  
ceased not to burne temples and houses. On the xiij. day  
Commodus rode out of the citie, and at the instante that  
he went out at the gates, soudainely the fire ceased: which  
confermes the Romanes in their opinion, namely that du-  
ring the life of Commodus, the Romane people of the gods  
should alwayes be scourged.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XII.

¶ Of many cruelties, and not a fewe phan-  
tical practises of Commodus.

As it hath beene said, Commodus continued certaine  
dayes very sad and penitine, when he considered how  
traytors sought occasion to take away his life, and the ter-  
rible flames and burninges of Rome: but in shorte time af-  
ter, hee both forsgat the chastisement of the Gods, and the  
spiracies of men: and this manifistly appeareth, for that he  
so stoutly returned to all his vices, as if he had never beene  
vicious. Cleander being dead, hee made Niger Prefect, and  
after sixe houres hee did reuoke his power, and com-  
maunded him to be banished: and prouided also Galba Ru-  
fus for his Chamberlatne, whom after fourre houres he dis-  
charged of his office, and sent him in exile: and when Ni-  
ger & Rufus complained of their grieses, Commodus aun-  
swereid, hee did not banishe them for that which they had  
done, but for that which they might doe. He created Pre-  
fect Marcus Dulius, a man (most certaine) right generous  
and auantient: whome after thre dayes he remoued from  
his office, and comauanded him vntill his death, in his house  
to be prisoner, the occasion whereof was, for that (as hee af-  
firmed) Marcus was very old and spente, and therefore it  
were no reason he shoulde be troubled of any person: and  
also, that if any man shoulde request any thing, hee mighte  
aunswere him, that hee was a prisoner, and might not go  
out of his dores to doe him pleasure. He gaue the Senate  
to understand, that hee woulde gy into Africa, and had ne-  
cessarie, for his nauie by sea, & his army by land, of a great  
summe of monie: although the Senate did suspect it but a  
collusion, they durst not but open the treasurie, and diuide  
with him the treasure: for otherwise, he woulde both make  
hauette of their liues and treasure.

In Apil the Senate gaue forth their monie, and when  
P.ij. Commodus

Commodus was in possession thereof, he bruted his departing unto Campania, to take men of warre: where hee remayned all that Summer, and also parte of the next winter, eating, drinking, fishing, hunting, playing, wastling, running, leaping, dauncing, swimming, and such other vanities. All the Senate was much ashamed, and all the Romanes not a little touched, after they vnderstood the manie which was given out for the warres of Africa, to be so vnitiously consumed by Commodus in Campania. After his returne to Rome, Commodus was aduertised, that Motilenus Preſeat for that yeaſe, had murmured moze at him, then any other person: and for very grise and despight did weepe, to ſee their monie prouided for the warres, ſpent in ſo wicked uſes: Commodus conſecuted certaine figgs, and invited Motilenus to dinner, who being fed with figgs died the thrid day following. One day he clad himſelf as a priſt, right pontifically, and placed himſelf aloft on a coche of 4. furious horſes: the Romanes ſuppoſing he would offer ſacrifices at the temple, he mounted certaine rockie cliftes & mountaines: and there againſt all reaſon ran his chariot, where his horſes happened to be all to forne, & his chariot rent all to peſces, and hee brake his head, and wrenched his ſoote: finally he made a narrow miſſe, in repayment of his follie, that day to haue lost his life. On a day he went to the Senate, and ſaid that hee would not haue Rome named Rome, but Comodiana: and the Senate auſswered, they were both pleased to call Rome Comodiana, and the Senate Comodiano. That which the Senators ſuppoſed to be demaunded in iell, alſo conſenting in iell, Commodus did accept in earnest: & from thenceforth, the letters which were written, the prouiſions which were made, & the ſeals thereto ioyned, in al ſuch instruments Rome was intituled Comodiana, & the Senate Comodiano: and if by negligēce any man happened to be obliuious therof, & to uſe the name of Rome, preſently he was banished from thence, to ſeekē Rome: for that was not, but Comodiana. The priſts of the Goddeſſe Iſis were comandied to come into his presence, and

and ſaid unto them, that ſhee had revealed vnto him, that their heads ſhould be haue, and that hee was comauied as high priſt to perorme the ſame: and with a blunte knife hee cutt their hailes, and blunting his knife vpon ſtones, would drie haue their headeſ: in ſuch wyſe, that as their haire was drie, and his knife blunt, it might moze truely be ſaid, that hee diſp rather ſley them, then trimme or drefſe them. ſuch as garded the temple of the Goddeſſe Bellona, hee cauied their right armeſ to be thrust out, of ioynte: alledging, that ſince they painted the Goddeſſe with a broken arme, her priſts ought not to haue their armeſ whole and ſound. The Romanes painted their Goddeſſe Iſis with naked brefteſ: and Commodus on a day viſiting that temple, and beholding the image of Iſis, painted with brefteſ diſcouered: hee cauied the brefteſ of the priſts to be ſcrat with combs of yron in his preſence, affirming that it were vnjuſte for their Goddeſſe to haue naked brefteſ, and they to hold their entrailes hidden.

Commodus comaunded all men to call him Hercules, which, to the end hee would reſemble, hee made a coate of Lions ſkinnes, and tooke in hand an huge clubb, wherwith hee wente day and night killing men, breaking doores, and ouerthowling pillers, with ſuch other vanities: in ſo much that a fierce cruell Lion would not haue done ſo great hurtes, as Commodus committed as a Lion, but conterfect. With many other vaine and wicked deedes vnuozthie to be written.

## CHAP. XIII.

¶ A diſcourse of the prouinces that rebelled in his reigne, and the prodigies of his death.

There rebelled againſt the Romane Empire, in the reigne of Commodus, the Mauritaneſ, the Datiens, the Sarmatiens, and the Germaines, all which were onely ouer-

come by the Romane capiteines: for that Commodus did rather employ his valiauntesse in vices, then in resisting enimies. Hē was not onely in his woordes and wōkkes, vaine and friuolous, but also in his letters whiche hē wrote for the Empire: for that many times being aduertised frō countries and prouinces, of causes of great importance, he would answeare them with matters of vanitie: and sometimes would sende an whole shēete of paper sealed and firmed, conteyning onely one Latine wōrd, that is to say, Vale. Notwithstanding the dayes of his reigne were the most vnsfortunate dayes, yet would hē itēdes commaund them to be termed y golden wōrld. Most heynous offences hē would pardon for monie: if any person being absent were condemned to die, hē would finde out some other of his age and name, to be executed for his offence: affirming that since he did resemble him in age and name, hē should not varie in the maner of his death: in such wise, that this tyrant did kill innocents for the wicked, and let offenders escape for monie. If any man had an enimie of whom he would take vengeaunce, hē needed no other meane to performe the same, but to bargaine with Commodus for a summe of monie, which being agrēed, he never wanted occasion to rid him of his life. At all the vile and filthie deedes which Commodus committed, he was not greeued, but delighted in the publication thereof: in so much that he was not onely euil, but also boasted himselfe to be euill: for that he entred so great follie or madnes, that all thinges which hē either did, or said, whether allowed or misliked of himselfe or all other men, expressely hē commaunded them to be written, in the registre Capitoline. On a certeine time he determined to burne y whole citie of Rome: and being p̄ezk to gine fire to many parts, Letus a Consul came vnto him, and said vnto him so many things, and put him in so great feare of the hazard of his life, that he ceased that day to execute so desperate a dēd: and being demaunded, why hē would burne his mother Rome, aunsweread: that he would not burne Rome, but his Commodian Colonell: because

because at that time it was named Rome. These prodiges following did precede his death. There came out of his house, certeine little birds, of the fashion and colour of turfles: which were never seene either in Rome, or in any the confines of Italie, and remained iij. dayes vpon his house, neither flying or remouing to any other house: and their note and songe whiche they v̄sed, did rather give motion of weeping, then of mirth. Soudeinly the ports of Janus did open, the copper Image of the god Mercurie was seene to sweat, the Image of Hercules without appreoch of any person was seene to moue, and vpon his chamber whiche hē slept the skrich owle nightly ceased not to houle. Commodus cōsidering these causes, departed to remaine at mount Celius: affirming that he was feared by night, & might not sleepe. On the next day, being demaunded for the celebrazion of certeine feastes & games, which were to be done before the gates of his Palace, what garmentes his guard should weare, hē aunsweread and commaunded them to be clad with hooded capes for the raine, a garment much v̄sed in Rome for mourners: in such wise that on the other day hē was in such maner accompanied, that it seemed rather they wente to honour his obsequies, then to celebrate or magnifie his feastes.

## C H A P. XIII.

¶ Howe Commodus was slaine by the deuice and counsel of his Courtesane Martia.

The time appreoching, wherein the follies and wickedneses of the Emperour Commodus should finishe, and the sorrowfull Rome obteine libertie from the seruitude of so cruell a tyrant: the occasion both of the one and the other was after this maner,

“ The first day of the moneth of Januari, the Romanes did  
 “ celebrate the feast of the God Janus: on which day Com-  
 “ modus determined to shewe himselfe in the habite, not of  
 “ an Emperour, but of a sword player: whereof Martia his  
 “ concubine being aduertised, with great instaunce did humble  
 “ pray him, and with many teares no lesse request and bee-  
 “ sech him, that it might please him to take some other or-  
 “ der, both to auyode the perill that might happen vnto his  
 “ person, as also the bleimishe vnto his authoritie. This  
 “ Martia was so loued and so tenderly cherished and honou-  
 “ red of the Emperour Commodus, that notwithstanding  
 “ shee did serue him as a concubine, yet hee brought to passe  
 “ that all men did serue her as Empresse. To restraine Cō-  
 “ modus from that feast in the shewe and forme of a sword-  
 “ player, neither were the abundant teares powred forth of  
 “ Martia sufficient, either her humble sute so instantly re-  
 “ quested, either the feare and hazard of his person so flatly  
 “ informed, either the amorous intisementes so exactly per-  
 “ formed, remoue his purpose: the which Martia considering,  
 “ forgat not to request others to be assistant in that sute: for  
 “ as afterwardes shee reported, her heart did give her, that  
 “ Commodus that day shoulde passe great perill. At that  
 “ time Letus was his Chamberlaine, and Electus Capiteine  
 “ of his guard, whoe were priuate and in great fauour with  
 “ the Emperour Commodus, & friendes vnto Martia: these  
 “ both shew requested to be humble furtherers in her former  
 “ sute. But Commodus was so obstinate, and determined  
 “ to celebrate that feast of Janus, in forme of a fenser: that he  
 “ was not onely unwilling to heare them, but also grew to  
 “ be offendid with them. On the eues eue of the great feast  
 “ of the God Janus, Commodus comauanded the Capiteines  
 “ of the sword players, to prepare him the armes & ensignes  
 “ of a sword player: for that hee would celebrate those feasts  
 “ not as an Emperour, but as a sword player. This done  
 “ and provided, Commodus comauanded Letus and Electus  
 “ to depart to their lodging, to the end he might repose: and  
 “ seeing himselfe alone in his chamber inclosed with boches  
 “ But,

But, he tooke paper and incke, and did write with his  
 “ owne handes, the names of all such persons which he de-  
 “ termined on the next day shoulde be slaine with the sword  
 “ players: for his meaning was not principally to adorue  
 “ those feastes and to honour them, but to dispatch manye  
 “ men of their lines. This memorial being made, of al such  
 “ persons as the nexte day shoulde be slaine: partly of ex-  
 “ cesse, and partly of wearinesse in witinge, he was ta-  
 “ ken with deade sleape: laying his memoriall vnder his  
 “ pillowe, not doubting that any person shoulde encounter  
 “ therewith. Commodus had in his chamber a little bope  
 “ suffisiently faire, named Pugius, whome he did loue and  
 “ fauour aboue all the rest, not for his seruice, but for de-  
 “ light he had of him in bedde. As Pugius was but childishe,  
 “ and in so greate fauour, comming and going alwayes  
 “ into Commodus chamber, fortune woulde, or to say better,  
 “ God so ordayned, that he shoulde take that paper in hande  
 “ wherein were contained the names of al such as were ap-  
 “ pointed to the slaughter: and came forth vnto the lodging,  
 “ where Martia received him to play, according vnto the  
 “ custome vsed with childe: and finding the paper in his  
 “ handes, suspecting it to be some wittinge of importance,  
 “ tooke the childe into her armes, imbracinge, kissinge, and  
 “ dallying with the childe Pugius, and giving him another  
 “ suell therewith to play, tooke the paper into her hands,  
 “ without all suspicion to finde that, which therein was  
 “ conteined. Martia coulde both write and reade, and vns-  
 “ derstoode þ Greke, and spake the Latine tong, and pre-  
 “ sently begane to reade the contents thereof, written by  
 “ Commodus his owne handes: wherein shew founde firste  
 “ her owne proper name, as appointed amongst the rest to  
 “ be slaine: the seconde was the chamberlaine Letus, the  
 “ thirde the captaine Electus, and so consequently the most  
 “ auncient, wealthy, & the most noble personages of Rome.  
 “ Martia being alsonned and terrifid to find what she sond  
 “ in that libell, began to sobbe and weepe: and saying with  
 “ her selfe; what is this; may it be, that I am Martia that

reade this writing, and shalbe executed to morrowe? Oh Commodus, ioy & take no care: for whereas thou hadst thought to haue done vengeaunce vppon thine enimies: this daye, they shal be reuenged of thee, in suche wise, as men shall praise it, and the Gods allowe it: that in thy rigorous chasticements, all tyraunts shall obteine and recover both warning and example. If thou euer in all thy life, dideſt committ or perfourme any good deede, it hath beene to place mee amongst ſuche persones as thou haſt appointed to be ſlaine to morrowe: for that ſhee deſerueth wrothe iuſtly to dye, that abandoneth her conuerſation vnto ſo vile a perſon. Since the Gods haue ſo permiſſed, and my good fortune woulde, that this matter ſhould be diſcouered, full contrarie to thy purpose, it ſhall haue ſuccesse: because thou thoughtest to haue ſlaine mee, and all other vertuous, noble, and moſt wealthe of the Empire: but the caſe ſhall be thus: that this daye thou ſhalt ſee the ende of thy wicked life, and wee all ſhall beholde our mother Rome ſet at libertie.

These and ſuche other wordes being ſpoken, ſhee ſent for Letus and Electus, to whome in greate ſecrecie, ſhee ſhewed this writing: and when they conſidered, that on the next daye they ſhoule all be ſlaine, they forgaſte not to determine to kill Commodus that night: but harde-ly miſt agree vppon the deuice, and maner of his death.

It was the cuen of the feaſt of Ianus, and alſo a greate parte of the daye alreadie paſt, and not as yet determined with what manner of death they ſhoule finiſhe Commodus his life: for that, if they ſhoule kill him on the ſoudeine, he miſt defende himſelfe, and the caſe diſcou- red: and if their affaires were deferrēd, on the next daye they were iudged to dye: but finally, they conſcluded to diſpatche him with poſon, offered by the hands of Martia.

The manner was thus. Martia perſuaded Commodus that night to bathe himſelfe, and conning from the bathe, Martia bare him

him in hande that he was pale and colourleſſe, and prayed him to drinke and to eate a morſell, and in that ſame whiche ſhee gaue him in a colation to eate, in the ſame ſhee miniftrēd poſon for him to dye.

Not long after this ſurfetinge dyet, his head began to ake: and being coiſelleſſe by Martia to take his bedde, ſhee provided to ſende forth all perſones that miſt ſeeme ei- ther to hinder his reſt, or her determined purpose. He had repoſed little more then an houre, when the poſon began to come to his heart, and taking occaſion with his fingers to call; Martia, Letus, & Electus, doyng that by vomite he miſt throwe forth the poſon, and ſo they by mat- ter committed miſt iuſtly be put to death, beganne to feare and diſmaye in their enterpriſe. But Martia moſe like a man then a woman, perceiving her complaints to be daunted with feare; brought in Narcissus, a beardleſſe and shameleſſe young man, fleſhed in murthers: to whome ſhee promiſed a greate ſumme of money, who en- tring the chamber finiſhed the murther. This was the ende of the vrchall and filthie life of Commodus, whose life and death may yeaſte vnto all Princeſſes bothe example and terror: for, notwithstanding the wicked are forborne for a time, yet Gods iuſtice doth not per- mitte them to escape vnpunished.

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CHAP. I.

¶ Of the lineage and countrie of the Empe-  
rour Pertinax.

**P**THE emperour Publius Pertinax was boorne in the prouince of Apennia in a certeine place named Martos, in the seconde yere of the Empire of Traiane: and his father was named Lincotinus, a man that liued by his owne proper sweat and trauaile. Pertinax beeing a stripling, served his father with the carriage of wood vpon an asse, to be solde at the towne, who vsed to sell so deere, contentious, and pinching, that if they gaue him not his first demaunde, he did rather leaue his wood unsolde, then abate one blanke of his price. And being noted of all men, and but for a packeman, it proceeded thereof to be named Pertinax, that is to say, contentious: for that before time he was named Publius. Pertinax perceiuing that he was now called, not Publius, but Pertinax, contentious and packman, he parted from his countrie in a greate chasse, and shamed, giving him selfe to write and read: whiche when he had learned, he trauailed to atteine the Greeke & Latine tonges, which also he obtained: in such wise, that he became more handsome in science, then in selling of wood. Now when Pertinax perceiued him selfe to be instructed bothe in the Greeke and Latine tonges, he gaue him selfe vnto the warres, to learne the arte of warrefare,

fare, perceiuing that from his studie there proceeded much trauaile, and no profit: and that his life diminished, and his goods nothing increased. In those dayes the Romaines helpe warres with the Allyrians, against whome the Consul Lolianus was capteine, wherof Pertinax being repaired, made couenant with a capteine of Rome to serue him for his prouision, in the condicione of a cater: who vsing his seruice in that office verie faithfully, and in skirmishe and encounter with the enimie no leesse valiantly, his maister remoued from his saide office, and aduaunced him to the state of a Souldiour. Not long after that Pertinax had serued in the condition of a souldiour, but he was raised to an office of more honour and credite, which in these dayes, is termed Sergeant of the bande, that is to wete, to give order vnto the souldiours, to sette in arraye. Pertinax euery daye recovered fame in the warres, and his valiantnesse and noble minde was notorious vnto all men in the campe. It chanced at the furious encounter of the enimie, the capteine of his bande to be slaine: wherof the Consul Lolianus commaunded him to take the charge, wherein he did so behauie him self, that not long after, he did not onely with bloud, reuenge the bloud of his capteine, but also brought to passe, to be loued of the Romaines, and feared of the enimies. The warres of Assyria being finished, Pertinax remained as pretor thereof, and as he was feared of the Assyrians in the time of warre: so was he afterwardes beloued in time of peace: for in times past he had beeне rigorous, as vnto enimies: so was he in processe without all comparison, more pittifull vnto offenders. In the seconde yere of the Empire of y god Marcus Aurelius, the king of Parthians rebelled against the Romanes, & amongst other Capteines that were called vnts that conquest, was Pertinax the Pretor of Assyria: in which warres, so straight and sound frindship was planted betwixt Marcus Aurelius and Pertinax, that from thenceforth they dealte not as maister and seruaunt, but as father and sonne: because no mat-  
ter

er, were it of mooste grete importance whiche Marcus Aurelius commaunded, that Pertinax performed not, and eschewly did not accomplishe: either any counsell ministered by Pertinax unto Marcus Aurelius, unto whiche he yealded not. In those Parthian warres, Pertinax proved so prouident in perils, so doughtie in hazarde, so wise in counsell, so venturous in talles, and so valiant in battaille, that by reporte of the enimies and iudgement of the armes, he onely deserved more glorie then all the rest. The warres of Asia being finished, the Emperour Marcus Aurelius sente him as Praetor unto the province of great Britaine, which nowe is called Englande.

Two yeares after he arriued into Britaine, warre was raised against the Germanies, unto which warres Pertinax was also called, and there had the charge of the Eagle, whiche was to be bearer of the roiall standarde, and was called the Eagle, because the Romanes had alwayes in that speciall standard an Eagle brauely painted.

Pertinax being resident in the warres of Germanie, his owne mother from Rome, came to visite him, for that tenne yeres had passed in whiche shē had not seene him: and not tenne dayes after shē had injoyed the sight of her desired sonne, shē dyed and passed out of this worlde. Unto whom Pertinax erected so solemne and sumptuous obsequies, and so generous a sepulchre, wherof was divined that shē was the mother of some Emperour to come, and that the Empire should fall into his handes. The affaires of Germanie being settled, the Emperour Marcus Aurelius sent his commaundement unto Pertinax, to passe into Dacia, which nowe is named Denmarke: and vnde a signe hym fiftie thousande xertercies for his stipend, whiche may amount to fife thousande Ducates of our money: wherat manye did envie, no lessie for the great summes of money whiche he gaue him, then for the honourable government that he committed unto him.

Hovwa

Now: Pertinax being growen verie riche, and notised bothe valiant, hardie, and in greate estimation, bee was therewithall envied of manie: whiche hatred bothe him by his contemporans and companions in the warrs, they discouered by their extreme publishing his negligences, darkening and infiebling his herodall actes.

It is an auncient custome in the malice of man, to holde nothing for well done, but that which we loue, although it be evill: and to eskeime nothinge for euill, but that which we hate, although it be right perfect. There came from Dacia certeine scouldours to Rome, whiche gaue foorth so peruerse and foule information againste Pertinax, that presently the Emperour did suspende his office, and discharged him of his stipende, and that he shoulde serue one whole yeaer at his owne proper costes in Illyria.

This imperiall commaundement being notised unto Pertinax, presently with greate patience he obeyed, and departed unto Illyria to perfourme his banishment with much constancie: and they saye, that he saide these wordes at his departing.

I am not gieuued for the honour whereof they haue depriued mee, either for the stipende which they haue taken from mee, either of this exile whiche they haue sent mee: but it grieueth mee that this commaundement shuld proceede from so good a Prince, and I not hearde, either he well infourmed: because mine innocencie being knownen ( as shortly it shalbe knownen ) the Emperour, my Lord, shalbe noted of all men, as a Prince of light beliefe, and I shall obteine the credite and faine of a gentleman, bothe sincere and patient.

And as Pertinax said, so it succeeded, whiche is to saye: The Senate commaunding iugisfaction to be made, and faving Pertinax free and cleare from all matters, wherof he was accused, and manye thinges wherefore to be commended, he was by publique sentence restored unto his honour, & to his adversaries was giuen the paine that

he

he did and shoulde haue suffered: although, notwithstanding in short time after, by his owne suite, they were pardoned, because Pertinax naturally was pittifull, and not givenen to reuenge.

## CHAP.II.

¶ Of the variable fortune that Pertinax did passe before he obtineid the Empire.

THE Emperour Marcus Aurelius helpe Pertinax in reputation of a man both vertuous, valiant, silent, of a noble minde, and also fortunate: but after he had by false report exiled him, he helde him both for wise, and of great patience, considering howe mildly he endured so vnjust banishment, and afterwardes howe friendly he sued for his aduersaries. In recompence of the iniurie whiche Marcus Aurelius the Emperour had done vnto Pertinax, he made him *Pretor* of *Datia*, and sent him ioyntly with his provision, the ensigne, and did also constitute him capteine of the first legion: that is to saye, to haue the vaughtarde of the armie, which in the warres is a matter of moske trust, and also of honour: in suche wise, that where as his enimies had thought moske to haue confounded him, from thence he receiued occasion to be most aduaunced. The prouince of *Noricus* and *Retius* rebelled against the Romaines: against whome the armies of *Illyria* were sent, vnto whome they gaue aduertisement that they were readie to be reduced vnto the seruice of the Romaine Empire, if the *Pretor* that presently did gouerne them were remoued, and in his place they might obteine Pertinax for their *Protector*: saying and affirming, that they rebelled not, to retire from the subiection of Rome: but because their officers did oppresse them with cruell dealing. Great ioye had the Emperour Marcus Aurelius when he understood those prouinces to be reduced vnto his ser.

seruice: but much ioye did he rejoyce, when he was aduertised, howe instantly they craved Pertinax for the gouernement of that countrie: vnto whome presently he sent, both craving and commanding: and to the ends that Pertinax shoulde accept his suite, and corredescende vnto his commaundement, he sent him the ensigne and liuerie of Consulship. Many dayes after that these matters had passed, the Emperour Marcus Aurelius sent for Pertinax, which had bene absent sixteene yearecs, and as he was in martiall affaires, famous, so generally they came soorth into the streetes of Rome to beholde him, as it had bene some monster, brought from the deserts of Aegypt: and being arrived at Rome, he was conducted by the Emperour Marcus Aurelius vnto the Senate: and after all sortes and fashions was praised and honoured as an assured friende doeth use to praise and honour his approued friende, which was great noueltie in Rome: that is to saye, for one *Prince* to speake for another in the Senate: for vnto such like Captaines as vnto Pertinax, they did onely heare what they would saye, but vsed not to aunswere any one wordе within the Senate. Presently in the *Calendes* of *January* next ensuing, Pertinax was created *Consul*: which the Emperour wished the Senate had not perfourmed, to the ends he woulde haue made him *Pretor* principall, because he esteemed him to be in possession of greate wisdome, for gouernement of matters of the common wealth, and very upright to administer justice. The people inhabitant neare vnto *Danubie*, did write vnto the Emperour Marcus Aurelius, howe they were robbed, lost, and euil gouerned: and that if Pertinax were not sent to gouerne that prouince, er long the whole countre would rebell: which Marcus Aurelius understanding, framed and forced him to returne vnto *Danubie*: and to the same ende he gaue him power and stipende so accomplished, that he referred vnto him selfe but onely the name of Emperour his Lord,

¶ One yere after that Pertinax had gouerned *Danubie*,  
¶.i. the

the Senate sent him newe provision for the gouernement of Dacia, by the occasion of the death of Caius : and that also he should vse the residence of the Praetor of Panonia: in suchewise, that there was no matter, either in the inferior or higher Almaine, that by the handes of Pertinax was not governed and prouided. Two yeares after the death of the Emperour Marcus Aurelius, Pertinax was remoued from the gouernement of Germanie, and assig-  
ned vnto Syria: the gouernement whereof was the best, the most honourable, and also the moste profitable that was giuen by the Romanes; for that it was not bestowed, but vppon the moste auncient Consul, or the moste valiant capteine, or the moste graue Senatour, or the am-  
bassadour that hest had perfourmed his charge. All the  
life of the good Emperour Marcus Aurelius, Pertinax in  
all his offices was founde to be verie wise, verie iust, se-  
uere, and no lesse sincere: but after the god Emperour  
was dead, he grewe negligent, and also was noted with  
the blemishe of a nigarde, and couetousnesse, because from  
thenceforth, he did rather emploie his forces to gather ri-  
chesse, then to gouerne the common wealth. Of this no-  
table example it may be inferred, of that which euery-  
day we see to chaunce: which is, that good Princes, of e-  
vil men make good seruauntes; and euil Princes of good  
men, make euil seruauntes: for that many times, not-  
withstanding the seruaunt naturally be euil, he doth en-  
deuour and enforce him selfe to be good, in respect of his  
maister which is good: and so by the contrarie, if the  
Prince be euil, the seruaunt strayeth vnto euill, althoough  
of his owne nature he be good.

Nowe Commodus being Emperour in Rome, when Pertinax bribed, and gathered money in Asia, against whome certeine people did rise and mutine, exalaming that he helde them oppressed and robbed; he was constrained thereby to retyre vnto Rome, to escape their pre-  
sented practises, to dispatche him of his life: nothing  
displeasant vnto Commodus, to the ende he might in-  
herite

herite his goods.

Pertinax being come to Rome, and the tyrant Per-  
rennius in those dayes gouerning the Empire, and com-  
maunding Commodus, gaue him verie euill entartayne-  
ment, and worse conuersation: not for that Pertinax had  
so deserued, but the rather to give him occasion to departe  
from Rome: for that being (as he was) verie wise, and of  
great iudgement, valiant, riche, and also auncient: he  
doubted to bee deuyned by Pertinax from the fauour of  
Commodus.

Pertinax beholding the follies of Commodus, the ty-  
ranies of Perrennius, the losse and spoyle of the common  
wealth of Rome: aduised to departe from thence, and  
to goe vnto the countrie of Liguria, separating him selfe  
to live in a poore village, where in times past, his father  
had liued and kepte shoppe: and buying that poore dwel-  
ling, where his father had sole oyle, fishe, wine, bread,  
and other victualls, buylt in the compasse thereof a state-  
ly buylding, permitting the olde to remaine in the nudest  
without any addition or diminishing thereof. Pertinax  
exceedingly delighted to beholde that countrie, wherein  
he had passed his life being but a childe, and from whence  
he had departed so abiect, and nowe returned with suche  
wealth and credite.

And being aduertised of the soale of the Ale, wheron  
he had vsed to carrie wood, to be aliue, he bought it, and  
did so vse & feede it, as it had beeene some auncient ser-  
uaunt of great deseruing. He there erected manye and  
solemne buyldinges, bought great and many purchases,  
gaue great summes of money vnto his kinred, old friends,  
and acquaintance: and did so ioye to see him selfe so  
riche, where he had beeene so poore, and so obfaine so great  
quietnesse, after so muche trauaile: that he saide, and  
wrote vnto his friendes, that if Princes had throughly  
tasted and knowen the rellishe of reposed rest: of them  
selues, and of their owne proper will, they would aban-  
don their Empires.

Pertinax being settled in quietnesse, Commodus sent his commaundement, that he shoulde departe into Britaine to execute the office of Praetor: whiche he obeyed, more for feare then of god will, and presently began to reforme the armies: whiche were in robberies verie absolute, and of life no lesse dissolute. And on a time a certeine mutinous legion made commotion, not because they had contention amongst them selues, but early to awake Pertinax, to violate his life. The matter fell out after this manner, that Pertinax found him selfe in so great perill, that all men thought he had beene slaine: yet amongst the dead he escaped aliue, notwithstanding cruelly wounded. After these matters were pacified, and Pertinax cured of his woundes, hee so seriously chastised that treason which they had conspired against him, that he intituled matter to murmur at Rome, and to bewaile in Britaine. The Senate being aduertised, what had passed betwixt the armie and Pertinax, sent a suspense of, and for his prætorian office, and gaue him charge of prouision for victuals and munition, whiche he woulde not accept, but sued for his discharge to departe: for that the armies helde him extreme and cruell, and he of the armies had greate doubt and suspicioun. Pertinax being arrived at Rome, founde that Perennius the tyrant was nowe dead: and Pertinax being a man of authoritie and gracie, a small time fell into the fauour of Commodus, vnto whome he commended the prefecture or gouernement of the citie of Rome: and succeeding Fussianus whoe vised his office with great crueltie, Pertinax obtained greate god liking of all the people, who perfformed his charge with no lesse mildnesse and pietie.

Commodus not contented that Pertinax had recovered so greate fauour in the common wealth, and finding no occasion either to kill or banishe him, aduised to discover his euill will whiche he did beare him, bothe in wozde and deede, that of him selfe he woulde seeke occasion to departe frō Rome: who finding apt & sure meanes

to

to rendance his office, retired vnto his owne proper house and countrie, supposing never more to haue bene remoued from thence all the dayes of his life: partly, for that he perceiued howe Commodus sought occasions to take away his life: and partly moued of olde age, to repose the remant of his dayes.

## CHAP. III.

¶ What was saide, and what he aunswere vnto those persons, that offered him the Empire.

After that Martia, Letus, Eleclus, and Narcissus had slaine the Emperour Commodus, a greate parte of the night being passed, and all persons in þ palace being conched vnder the gouernement of profound sleepe, Martia and her companions tooke the carcase of Commodoſus, and wrapt it in an olde Heron, wherein the slaues did beare out the ordure of the stable: giuing them to vnderſtande, that it was a certeine vſel, with a charge also to carrie it forth. After the bodie was remoued out of the courte, they laide it into a carre, and conueyed it into a certeine village named Aristro, wher Commodoſus did vſe to haue and solace: but on the next daye his death being published, the Romanes pursued, and although he were dead, they cutt off his head, and traileſ his bodie throughout all the streates of Rome. Martia, Letus, and Eleclus, considering they had slaine Commodoſus, and bestowed his carcase at their pleasure, aduised amongst them selues to ſeeke out, and to name an Emperour before daye ſhoulde come vpon them: to the ende the Empire ſhould haue an owner, as alſo to haue defence vnder his protection: any ſo it came to paſſe, when the death of the one was manfester, the election of the other was published.

D.iii.

The

The matter happned after this manner: Letus and Electus talkinge with them, certeine of their especiall frindes departed straight vnto the house of Pertinax, knocking at the gate to haue it opened with greate haste: one of the sonnes of Pertinax beholding them to come armed, at such an hour, and with such hast, was taken with so great feare, that when he woulde haue made reporte thereof vnto his father, terror and trembling woulde not suffer him to speake.

At the instant that Pertinax vnderstood how Letus and Electus were come with armed men, he leapt from his bedde and commaunded his gates with greate sped to be opened, which proceeded of a noble and a valiaunt minde, soz that he helde it soz most certaine, that soz as much as they were both so private with Commodus, who did haire him so mortall hatred, and comming vnto his house at such an houre, might be to no other end then to take away his life. And all the tyme whilste these matters did passe betwixt the one and the other parte, Pertinax was neither troubled, or altered: but after the maner of a man determined to die, saide vnto Letus and Electus these woordes.

I do well vnderstande that the Emperour Commodus, my Lord, hath sente to kill me, whereof I doe not meruel: but wonder it is, that so long he suffered me to liue: because of all the olde seruants that were bred with his father Marcus Aurelius I onelie am aliae, a small remnant of all the reste whiche he hath slaine. I may not with reason complaine me, y<sup>e</sup> Commodus in my quietnesse and securitie doth send to put me to death, since certaine dayes past, I haue atteded this last day & houre: for that abhorring, as I did abhorre his wicked life, I was moste sure hee would

woulde procure my death. It grieueth me not to die, but for that I die before I see my countrie deliuered from the handes of so cruell a tyrant: for I sweare vnto you by the immortall Godds, that I neuer wised anie thinge rather vnto my selfe, either my posteritie, then that it might please them, before they woulde take away my life I might beholde my mother Rome set at libertie. I haue been a right perfect and sincere Romaine, and zealous for the common wealth of my countrie, and doe hope in the immortall Godds, that I shall obteine that in their presence whiche they haue denyed mee in their absence, before whome, his malice and mine innocencie shalbe examined. You Letus, and Electus, seruauntes, friendes, and fauoured with Commodus, doe that whiche he hath commaunded you, and dispatche mee out of this tedious and miserable worlde: for in the ende to dye with the swoorde, or to dye with an ague, all is but death.

Letus and Electus were astounied to beholde the constancie that Pertinax had, and to consider the excellent woordes whiche he saide: whereunto they made aunswere.

Oh, howe secrete are the judgementes of God, and howe variable are the thoughtes of menne. This wee saye vnto thee Pertinax, because thou thinkest that wee are come to take awaye thy life: and wee are not come, but to the ende thou shouldest giue vs life, and take wretched Rome

under thy defencē.

Wee may not speake or aduertise thee at large, for want of time, the breake of day being at hande: but the case is thus, that the tyrantē Commodus is deade, the cause thereof proccedē, for that he had determined (as was founde in memoriall written with his owne handes) this day to haue slaine vs all: and as by a certaine manner neuer harde of, the matter was discouered, we determined to preserue our own liues, and giue an ende to his tyranties. In this deed which we haue done, we neither thinke to haue offended the Gods, or committed treason: for that the life of this tyrant was odious vnto the Gods, and daungerous vnto men. It was nowe high time that some man shoulde giue an ende vnto his life, that had taken away the life of so many good men. We, as we were in his fauour, had perfect intelligēce, whome he helde for friends, or enemies: and also we knowe right certeinly, that if thou Pertinax be now aliue, it is not, that he so wished it, or that he procured not to kil thee, but the Gods gaue him no place, but haue reserued thee to the ende thou shouldest deliuer Roome, and restore the common wealth.

No man knoweth vnto this houre that Cōmodus is dead, but Martia and we that haue slaine him: and as we haue laide our handes vpon him to finishe his dayes, so haue we fixed our eyes vpon thee to make thee Emperour.

And beleeue vs, Pertinax, that if we coulde haue made choice of any better then thy selfe, we woulde haue chosen better: because they are so many and so greate euills which haue beene committed by this tyrant, that they may not be amended or repayred, but

but by the hands of some most vertuous prince. That which hath moued vs to elect and gittie thee this Empire, is, because thou art auncient, wise, valiaunt, vertuous, riche, and of great expeirience, aboue all the rest loued & desired of all the people; for that Prince whiche is not acceptable vnto his people, he shal of many be disobeyed, & of many much lesse duely esteemed.

These woordes being noted of Pertinax, determinatly did thincke them to be spoken fainely and with collusion, and thereto aunsweread. Oh Letus and thou Electus, you ought to be satisfied, simply to accomplish the vntust commaunement of Commodus, without derision of these my pore auncient yeres, y is to say, first gilefully to flatter me and afterwards to kill me. As I haue said, performe that which ye haue to doe, which the sooner ye shall accomplish, the greater ioy shal ye yeld vnto Commodus, and deliver me of griece. I well know that Commodus now sleepeth not, but carefullly abideth your returne, for at this present he attēdeth no better newes, then the report, that ye haue given an end vnto my wretched life. Letus and Electus considering that Pertinax continued doubtful and suspicous, began to say and replie: there is so small time for so great affaires as we haue to do, that there resteth no time to contend vpon our ambassage and thy suspicion: and because thou shalt see the truthe of that which we haue said, and not as thou supposest, take and reade this memoriall, written with Commodus his owne hand, and there shal thou see, how great reason wee had to kill him this night, since to morrow he ment to haue slaine vs all. Pertinax receiuing the memorial into his hands, and knowing it to be Commodus writing, found himselfe placed in the fourth degrē, which is to witt, that on the morrowe Commodus woulde haue killed Martia, Letus, Electus and Pertinax: & so by degrēs, many other Senatores & Consuls of Roome. Pertinax hauing read y memoriall, stayed as one astonished

againe demandyng if Commodus were dead in dede: they aduouched no lesse, and thorowly affirmed the same: whereupon hee beganne most pitiously to wepe: saying, that he wept not for the death of Commodus, but because the memorie of the god Marcus Aurelius in him was finished. And lifting his eyes vp to heauen, said: Oh vnfornatue Marcus Aurelius, Oh vnfornatue Marcus Aurelius, Oh infortunate Marcus Aurelius: (thre times exclaiming him to be vnfornatue and vnhappy) because thou wast vnfornatue in thy wife, whiche thou posses- sedst: in thy daughters which thou nourishedst, & in thy sonnes which thou begatdest.

## CHAP. III.

**T**A certeine notable speach vttered by Letus vnto the armie, in the fauour of Pertinax.

After that Pertinax had bewayled the death of Commodus, not for his owne condition, but for that he had beene the sonne of the god Marcus Aurelius, hee said vnto Letus & Electus, that he would not by any meane receiu the Empire, if the Senate did not commaund it, and the armie consent vnto it: because to hold the Empire safe and establishes, and not to enter the same as a tyrant: vnto the Senate, it apperteyned to vse their election, and the armie their confirmation. Letus made offer to finish all that which Pertinax demaunded: that is to say, the Senate should elect and choose him, & the armie confirme and allow their election: and the hope that he had to obteine the same was, that hee had amongst them many friends and kinsefolke: and the joy that all would receiu vpon the newes of his death. Letus departing to talke with the Capteines and leaders of the armie, made vnto them a compen- dious speach after this manner.

His

*His Oration to the  
assemblie.*

THAT which now I meane to say (right exceilent Princes, and my martial cocompanions) will be verie straunge vnto your hearing, although not farre di- stant from your desires: because of many things whiche we desire, the least and fewest parts thereof we do obteine. Neither are the Gods so liberall to giue vs al that we desire, either so niggard to denie vs all that we craue: and this they do, because we shal acknowledge them to be good, for that which they giue vs: and co- fesse our selues to be euill for that which they denie vs. The good and vertuous be not onely knownen, in the good woorkes which they doe, but also in their good desires whiche they haue: because the euill and wicked, if they durst, would never cease to commit mischefe: and the vertuous if they might would never growe cold in doing vertuous acts. The Gods neuer ioynly accomplished the desires of so many, as this day they haue accomplished all your desires: for being(as you are) noble, generous, valiaunt, true, and no counterfet Romanes: it is not to be thought that ye should wish or desire, but the libertie of our mother Rome, and the reformation of our auncient common wealth.

Ye haue all scene what the Emperour Commodus hath beene, whiche is to witt, howe large in com- maundement, howe cruell in killing, howe carelesse in government, & how filthie of life: through which cause

cause, we not onely held our houses as consumed & lost, and our persons in perill, but also were defamed throughout all straunge nations. The Prince that is ouer youthly, foolish, absolute or dissolute, looseth his people, and defameth his kingdome. Since ye haue seene the euils and cruelties which hee hath done, I would haue you see, heare, & vnderstād, what he met to doe: for as it seemeth by this memoriall written with his owne hand, hee had a will to haue slaine all persons within the Empire: and if hee might haue brought it to passe, it is credible, he would haue cut the throates of so many as be in this world. It was never seene or heard off in this world, of any tyraunte that hath beene of the maner and condition of Commodus: for that naturally he delighted in losse of friends, and did glorie to haue enimies. Commodus your Emperour is now dead, & if I be not deceiued, I suppose he dieth with conformitie of the whole Empire: because there is nothing more certaine, then that hee which liueth to the prejudice of all men, should die to the conformitie of all men. In as much as the Gods haue taken in good part to deliuere vs from the seruite of this tyrant; it is necessary, that another Emperour be prouided and chosen, and this election may indure no delay, but must be dispatched at this instant; because otherwise, as the great dignitie of the empire, is a thing that many desire, & few deserue: so it might happen that at the time wee would bestowe the same vpon some vertuous man, it might be vsurped by some straunge tyrant. If vnto euery man that is here present, we should haue due respect, according to their deseruing: I sweare by the immortall Gods, wee should want Empires, and not Emperours: but considering

dering the Empire is but one, & is not to be giuen but vnto one, in the end none shall obteine the same, but he vnto whome the Gods shall assigne, and the destynies permit. The prince that ye haue to electe, ought (in my iudgement) to be nativie of your countreie: because the prince that is not nativie but a straunger, he shall rather first finishe his dayes, then attaine to the loue of his common wealth. Ye haue also to electe & chuse an Emperour, that possesseth age & grauitie: for that it furthereth not a little the profit and reputation of the common wealth, to haue a beard on the face, & hoarie haires on the head. Also it is right necessarie in the Emperour which ye shal electe, that he be no foole, either a coward: but that he be wise, pregnant, noble minded, & of experiance: because in naturall science, and long experiance, the good gouernement of the whole common wealth doth consist. Manifesting my minde more clearely, I say againe vnto that which I haue said: that if my opinion might be taken in this case, we ought to determine and fixe our eyes vpon Publius Pertinax, in whome concurre all the condicions aforesaid: that is to say, naturalitie, age, grauitie, science, and experiance: & that this is most true, there needeth no greater testimonie for the credite thereof, then that Commodus held him for his enimie. It is not to be thought, that the Gods in vaine, haue consirued the life of Pertinax vntil this day, Commodus procuring by a thousand meaneies to put him to death: as it is most true, that of al the old seruaunts of his father by him slaine, onely Pertinax is reserved aliue. As wee haue all wel knownen that be here present, that Pertinax hath been the man most afflicted, banished, enuied, toyled, and persecuted, of al the men that now are

are aliue in this world: and surely it is a great argument, to thinke that for him, & for no other the Empire hath beene refeted: because the Gods do never preserue the life of any man amongst so many perils, but afterwards greatly they aduaunce him. Wee ought all to hold it for great good hap, and greatly to gratifie the gods in respecte of such and so many as haue bin slaine in our common wealth; that we finde such a prince for our mother Rome, whom they shal not aduenture to contemne, because of his grauitie: neither be daunted with feare, for that he is noble minded: either noted of simplicitie, in as much, as hee is sapient: neither accused of vice, for that he is vertuous: either reprooved of feeblenes, because he is reposid: finally, no man may deceiue him in words, in so much as he hath experience of all thinges. O most excellent princes and my commilitants, I will say no more vnto you, but that, if ye may persuade your selues to the election of Pertinax, ye shall not onely yeeld a good Emperour vnto your Common wealth, but also euerie man shall obteine in him, a father for his familie: for as he hath bin a leader vnto vs all, so he canot deale with vs, but as with his children.

All the time that Letus was reasoning these matters vnto the armie, they stode all astonied and rapt: partly in hearing the memoriall, conteyning the treason that Commodoſ had ordeyned, & partly for the newes of his death: and also in considering how aptly & eloquently Letus had vsed his speach in opening the matter. Presently at the instant that Letus had finiſhed his talke, the whole armie began to say & exclaime: *Viva! viva! Pertinax Augustus*, whiche is to say, Long & many yeares may Pertinax liue our Romane Emperour. All the principal of the armie depar-  
ted to

ted to vſite Pertinax at his owne house, & found him not, but in the temple of victorie, and taking him vpon their Shoulders they carried him about all Rome: and as it was then, as yet not throughly day, the towneſmen were abashed to heare ſuch newes: because not knowing that Commodoſ was dead, they heard that Pertinax was proclamed Emperour. The Romaneſ afterwardes did ſwear and affirme, that in long time paſt there was ever any newes diuulgato in Rome, that generally gaue ſo great ioy vnto all persons, partly for the newes of Comodoſ death, as also for that y god old Pertinax was made Emperour.

## CHAP. V.

¶ Of an Oration made by Pertinax in the Senate immediately after he was elected Emperour.

V ery great was the ioy that was manifested throughout all Rome, because they had obteyned Pertinax for their Lord, and no leſſe was the heauinesſe that Pertinax diſcouered, to behold himſelfe an Emperour: for he ſaid, that this name or title of imperie or regiment, was the thing that every man desired for himſelf, and in others diſmolt abhorre. No ſigne of an Emperour would Pertinax refuſe to accompane him, vntil he and the Senatours had ſene, conſered, and ſaluted ech other, and all ioyntly being mounted vpon the height of the Capitol, where y imperial cloth of estate was placed, Pertinax would by no meane ſt volve in that imperial ſeat, but tooke the Censul Glabrio by the arme, and by ſtrong hand would haue ſet him in the ſame, ſeriously affirming, that it apperteineſ much better vnto his deſeruing. Glabrio was a Romane, in age very auncient, in condition very mild, in government very wiſe, in life of great ſincerite, & in bloud much esteined: for that he was deſcended by the right line of king Aeneas ſonne vnto Anchises, and ſonne in lawe vnto king Priamus, and

and father to Aschanius. When Glabrius perceiued Pertinax to persist with so great instance to inwest him with the Empire, he said vnto him in the presence of the whole Senate: the humble humilitie which thou shewest Pertinax in the want of merit of the Empire, the same maketh thee of deseruing sufficient of the Empire, vnto which election all we of the Senate do consent: not moued therewards by the election of the armie, but to see thee make so small account of thy selfe: in such wise, that this thy refusall yeldeþ thy merit sufficient. A great while was the whole Senate persuading Pertinax to condescend to their request, which is to wit, to accept the Empire: but his repugnance was so great, that in a manner by force they placed him in the chayre: and that which is more, the whole Senate perceiued, that he did nothing seynedly: for it was lamentable to heare the lamentation which hee made, and to see the abundance of teares whiche he shed. But afterwards, when hee was placed in the imperial chaire, Pertinax spake vnto the Senate after this maner:

### *His Oration to the Senate.*

THAT which I will now speake vnto you (fathers conscript) the God Jupiter, in whose house now we stand, be my witness, I wil not therin deceiue you: for this place being consecrate vnto the gods (as it is) it should be great sacrilege, for men to aduenture to lye therein. For all weaknesse which men commit, they may haue excuse, except it be for lying: because vnto other vices, humaine weakenes doth invite or intice vs: but to lye, we are not moued but with our owne proper malice. Fathers conscript, ye see how Commodus your Emperour is dead, and the destinies haue brought to passe that I succede him in the Empire: perchance, for as much as he did ywile mee scull, and his

his workes of my part not very well liked, it may be thought of you, that the manner of his death was first notified vnto mee, and his life cut off by my deuice: wherein throughly to satisfie you, I sweare and protest by the immortall gods, that of this fault I am not guiltie: because I was so innocent thereof, that when they said that Commodus was dead, at that instant I thought he had sent to haue slaine mee. Notwithstanding, that both he and we shal all die, I would not that so straunge a death should haue finished his dayes: not because Commodus did not deserue the same, but for the great bond which our mother Rome doth owe vnto his father Marcus Aurelius: for it many times happeneth, that the errours of the children, be recompenced with the merites of their fathers. I was seruient and aduaunced of the good Marcus Aurelius, which is the greatest weale that the destinies might haue giuen me in this world, & I say it is to this end, because it should be great griefe vnto me, if in my presence any thing should be said, either in my absence any thing should be done, against his sonne Commodus, although he be now dead: for that in my heart, I finde my selfe much more bound to acknowledge the great goodnes which I receiued of my Lord Marcus Aurelius: then to reueng the iniuries that I suffered of his sonne Commodus. Beleue mee (fathers conscript) that if ye shall do contrary vnto this which I haue said, it may be, that obseruiug time wherin I shall find my selfe, it shalbe necessarie to dissemble it, but I may not cease greatly to feele it. The prouidence of the gods is farre different from the deuices of men, & that which moueth me to this speach, is, that when I was a yong man, I much desired the Empire, and might not atteine

teine it: and now that I am old and do abhorre it, they force mee to take it: in such wise, they giue vs that which we hate, and denie vs that which we seeke or craue. When I began to hold offices in the common wealth, I thought it most certeine, that it was no humaine matter, but a diuine dignitie, to be a Romane Emperour: but after I tasted of the trauells of commaundements, and of authoritie, and vnderstode the peril to reigne: I did clearely see that amongst all the trauels of men, to be an Emperour is the greatest.

Neither mercile, either be escādalized (O ye fathers conscript) to see me so vntractable, and with so many teares to refuse the Empire: for if I thought to vse my selfe therein as a tyrant, I would not caste it off, but would rather procure the same: but as my meaning is to liue & gouerne more to the profite of the common wealth, thē to the aduancement of mine owne house: respecting my small strength, the Empire is to mee, a great burthen. Being, as I was, most truly satisfied with the acquaintance and conuersation of the trauels of the Empire, there were no reason to think, I should desire the Empire: because there is none so foolish, as the man, that with the hope of a remedie, would offer himselfe vnto an hazard. Vnto this day I haue beene esteemed in possession of great wealth, but now that I am an Emperour, I am forced to become poore: for y a prince, in respect of such, with whō he hath to deale and accomplish, hath fewe thinges to giue, and hath a thousand necessities that constreine him to bribe and robbe. Vntil this day I haue had some quietnesse, but from henceforth I shalbe constreined to liue discontented: because from the trauel and disquietnes of the prince, peace and quietnes doeth proceede vnto the com-

mon wealth. The office of the prince is not to sleepe, but to watche: not to be idle, but to trauell: for that euerie excessiue recreation, which his person taketh, forthwith redoundeth to the offence of the common wealth. From my birth vntill this day, of any thing I haue not had greater experieēc, then to see, heare, read, suffer, and experiment trauels: wherof many I beheld farre off: but alas of my selfe, that nowe am inuironed therewith: because the appetite of the vulgar people is so feeble and variable, that if to day they giue and elect a good prince, to morrow they would relishe and haue a taste of the gouernement of some other. Naturallie, all men, in all thinges, and at all houres, desire to heare and see nouelties, and much more desire the same in the estate of gouernement, then in all other thinges: for that no prince gouerneth so well, but that they conceiue an other should gouerne better. Vntill this day I haue beene well liked, serued, and reuerenced, but from henceforth al men for the most part, shal beare me enuie and hatred: because the estate of princes is so enuied, that hee shall want fand in the Sea to reckon his enimies: but the number of his fingers of one hand, shal exceede to point out his friends.

All this I haue said (fathers conscript) to the end ye shall not mercile, why I haue refused the burthen of the Empire, but rather am escandalized, knowing what I know, to see my selfe charged and ouer laden with y Empire: because to renounce it, a thousand thinges do moue me, & to attempt it, nothing inuite me. But since the gods haue so willed, my destinies so permitted, & ye also haue so ordeined: I determin to lode my selfe with this burdē, although I am assured it wil cost me my life: but I yeld it al for wel employed, if it

These wordes being said by Pertinax, the Senate received great pleasure, and chiefly praised him, for that he forbade all men to speake euill of Commodus, knowing (as they all did knowe) that he had bene his mo<sup>r</sup>tall enimie. The Senat received Pertinax in the midst amōgst them, and did accompany and attend vpon him, vnto all the temples: and euery temple did offer vnto the Gods, notable sacrifices. And most truly this was a notable and also a laudable custome amongst the Romans, which is to witt, that princes newly elected, did first visite the Gods, before they permitted themselues to be visited of men. As Pertinax had his person in so great authoritie, and being elected by the armie, and the Senat with so great concord: and further, being old and hoarie headed, and so long time known in Rome, it was a monstrous thing to behold, when he came forth into Rome, how al men hasted to see his face: for truly it seemed little vnto euery man to obey him as a prince, but to loue and serue him as a father.

## C H A P. V I.

¶ Of many thinges which he did after he was Emperour.

The first thing that Pertinax commaunded, or prouided, was, that the men of warre were very wel payed: and therwith practised great discipline, in which matter, more then in any other, he presently gaue reformation: for that in the Empire of Commodus, the armie was abandoned vnto great libertie.

Comodus consumed so great summes of monie in vices, þ there was not sufficient to pay the men of warre: þ by this occasion they did filche by night, rob on high wayes, sacke houses, spoile corne, oppresse the poore, and were briuers with rich men: finally, they were desperate, and so flesht, that

that for feare of any paine, they never absteyned from offence. Not many dayes after that Pertinax was published Emperour, and with great seriousnes on a certeine day, vsed familiaritie with Letus and Electus, a Consul named Falcus said vnto him: what an Emperour (¶ Pertinax) thou shalt proue, thy wozkes begin to make demonstration: since thou leadest after thee Letus and Electus, which as traytours did kill their Lord Commodus: doing what thou doest, and consenting to that wherto thou didst consent, it may be no lesse, besides the euill example which thou yeldest vnto Rome, thou giuest also such scruple vnto thy fame: whereby we thinke, that if thou wert not the inuentour of his death, at the least thou delightest to cloke the same. Unto this Pertinax made aunswere, it well semeth, that although thou be a Cōsul, thou art but a yongling: since thou knowest not to make difference of times. It maketh no great matter, that I doe with Letus and Electus, as they did with their Lord Commodus, that is to say, they obeyed him and followed him, and that whiche they most desired, they most dissembled: and at the houre of opportunitie, they dispatched him of his life. The same day that he was created Augustus and Emperour, he was intituled Pater patriæ: this excellencie vnto none, either since or before, was giuen vpon that day. His wife was named Flavia Titiana, vnto whome likewise on the same day that he was invested Augustus, she was intituled Augusta. The Emperour Pertinax did greatly trauell, to allowe all thinges that his Lord Marcus Aurelius did fauour, to finish that which he had begon, to sustaine that which he had left, to repare that which he had hault and to imitate all that which he had done: for he said, it was impossible to erre, in following the stepps of the god Marcus Aurelius. The fame being diuulgate thoroughout the Empire, howe Commodus was dead, and Pertinax chosen Emperour: the countries, cities, prouinces, and kingdomes, gaue very large rewards vnto the messengeres hereof, no lesse for the death of Commodus, then for the election

election of Pertinax. As hee had beeene in so long time in so many prouinces, Praetor, Censor, Quirite, Edil, Consul, Proconsul, and Censor, Pertinax was one of the most famous Romanes in the Empire: whereof succeeded, that after the Barbarians were aduertised, that Pertinax was Emperour of Rome, such as were rebelles, left their armour, and such as had taken truce, made peace. Pertinax had a sonne, whome the Romanes would haue created Augustus, to the end hee shold succeede him after his dayes in the Empire: which he could neuer like off, or consent vnto, saying: The Gods neuer graunt, that with the hope of the Empire, my sonne shold be nourished vnto vice and idlenesse. Commodus had laide intollerable im- postes and tributes vpon his people, which Pertinax com- manded to be made frustrate: affirming, that of the will of princes in charging their kingdomes with vniust tri- butes, there succeededeth a wilful denial of due and most iust painments. False witnessesse hee commaunded to be pun- ished according vnto the lawe named, *Pena del talion*, that is to say, they shold be executed by Justice, wherein they had accused others by malice. Hee ordeyned that the testament which had been made by the husband & wife ioyntly, might not be altered by the suruiver. Also he did ordeyne, that any man dying intestate, shold not forfet his landes or goods vnto y fiscall, but that his sonne, or most neere kin- man shold inherite the same: saying, there were no reason or iust lawe, where the dead for want of speach shold loose his goods. The Senators on a day said vnto Pertinax, how the Duestorrs of the treasurie, and the officers of the fiscall, had murmurated at him, for the law that he made in the fa- vour for the dead intestate, vnto whom hee aunswereid: Fathers conscript, I may safely say, there are not so many that complaine of this lawe, as there be that praise and a- lowe it: but I recke not whether the one doth praise or the other mislike: but in my iudgement, it is no worke of Ro- manes, but the inuention of tyrants, of robberies, briberies & rapines, to fill the treasurie with riches. He made a lawe, that

that no fiscall shold sue anye person for landes, or goddes that were doubtfull, saying: that the fiscall ought to re- move nothing that clearly were not his owne: and that in case of doubt, more stire and more conformable vnto iu- stice were it, to remayne with him that doth possesse it, than with the fiscall that doth demaynde it. He commaunded all things vniustly taken by his predecessor Commodus, to be restored vnto the owners. When the Secretarie came to firme this lawe to be proclaimed, and Pertinax reading the same, wherein it was said: Wee comayaunde that all thinges which our predecessor Commodus hath robbed, whiche word robbed, he blotted out with his pen, and enterlaid this word gotten: saying, it is sufficient that the lawe be in the fauour of the living: without iniur- ing, with soule woordes, Princes that be dead: All that whiche was knownen manifestly to be Commodus debt, he comandaunde to be payed; and all whiche he had promised to be giuen: and besides all this, the wheat, oyle, and other things which particularly were vised to be giuen and diu- ded amongst the people of Rome, he caused with great di- ligence to be brought from all kingdomes, and in great a- bundance and liberalitie comandaunde it to be bestowed. Many vniust tributes being take away by Pertinax, there succeeded a great necessarie for the painment and reliefe of the armie of Africa: whereby he was constreyned to exact new impositions of his common wealth, whereupon the Consul Gellianus tooke occasion to say, that he had done con- trary to that whiche he had begon in the Empire, & against that whiche he had said in the Senat: Pertinax aunswereid said: When I was Consul (as thou art) I did meruaile at the daedes of princes, and now that I am an Emperour, I meruaile of that whiche you Consuls do speake: thus much Gellianus say to this end, be cause thou shalt understand, that Emperours at times, make lawes as they ought, and at other times not as they would, but as they may.

## CHAP. VII.

¶ Of many things which he did ordeine  
and reforme in the common  
wealth.

There was in Rome and in the confines of Italie, much  
roughe ground for corne, which being barren for want  
of manuring, Pertinax commaunded proclamation to be  
made, that if any man would grub, manure, or till the same,  
hee should freely for tenne yeares, take the profitte thereof.  
Before Pertinax vsed this diligence in Italie, fro Aegypt,  
Spaine, and Sicyl, they brought wheat to furnish the same:  
for which cause Traiane did vse to say, that Rome was  
moze tributarie then any place of the wold: for that they  
could not eat, but if it were giuen them from other king-  
domes. There were many particular thinges said to be  
the Emperours, namely, hills, heards, gardes, riuers, pala-  
ces, and houses: which hee commaunded to be altered, na-  
ming them hills, gardens and riuers, not of the Emperour,  
but of the common wealth, for hee affirmed, that on that  
day, in which any whatsoeuer, was made Emperour, hee  
might haue nothing proper vnto himselfe: and said further,  
that if this name Prince be well understande, it giueth no o-  
ther dignitie to the person that beth the same, but to make  
him defender of the territorie of the countrie, and pro-  
curer of the common wealthe. In the dayes of his predeces-  
sours, they had attempted new impositions, that is to say,  
in ports of the sea, at the ports of cities, for passage of high  
wayes, of barkes vpon riuers, and for baking in ouens: al-  
which were to the great detriment of the common wealth,  
and the auncient libertie of Rome: the collection whereof  
Pertinax from thence forth, commaunded to cease. Being  
demanded of the Consul Tortelius, whÿ he made straf-  
lawes so profitable, aunsweared: because without compa-  
rison much moze are the displeasures which they give me, then

then the money which they bring me: and as mée semeth,  
we may not saye, that that money is verie cleanly that  
comes imbzewed with displeasures. He commaunded  
that in criminall causes, offendours should be verie well  
hearde: and if in case any should dye, fourtie dayes to be  
expired before he should suffer. It was a matter verye  
monstruous and scandalous, that was consumed in ex-  
pences, in the dayes of Commodus: wherein Pertinax  
in siche wise prouided, that they murmured no lesse  
against him for his frugalitie, then against Commodus  
for his prodigalitie. They muche blame Pertinax, who  
set before his questes whiche did eate at his table, halfe  
pigges, and halfe geese: and many times sent two soppes  
betwix two plates for a present, and sometime the legge  
of a Pheasant, & at other times the wing of a capon, and  
reserved also in the morning somewhat to be eaten at  
night. Princes ought verie muche to consider, and also  
to auoyde, not to be noted miserable at their table: for it  
is verie small that in such trifles may be sauad, and verie  
much that they giue vnto the multitude to murmur.  
He many times came foorth vnto the fielde of Mars, and  
there he caused the whole armie to exercise feates of war,  
rewarding such as were industrious, and reprehendinge  
such as were dull and hartelesse. There were many Ro-  
manes, and others in the confines of Italie, whiche did  
owe great summes of money, not onely vnto the fiscall,  
but also vnto the treasurie, among whome, some in times  
past had beene his friendes, and others that were in great  
necessitie, he commaunded both the one & the other to bee  
deliuered of the fiscall, since it was due vnto him selfe, and  
made payement of their wholle debt that was due vnto the  
treasurie. Amongest other vertues, the Emperour Per-  
tinax of truthe was muche noted and praised: whiche is  
for weake, of clemencie and gratefulnesse: for that he was  
pitifull vnto the afflicted, and thankfull vnto his friendes.  
Pertinax had a sonne, whome, after he was Emperour,  
he would not permit to come to the court, either as much

„ as vnto Rome: but that he helde him in his countrey , fol-  
 „ lowing his dwne affaires , and the profite of his owne  
 „ house : whereupon the Consul Fulvius Turbone saide  
 „ vnto Pertinax , that he seemed rather the sonne of a la-  
 „ bouer, then of an Emperour : he lift vp his eyes to hea-  
 „ uen and with a greate sigh, saide : My mother Roine hath  
 „ cause to be contented , that I offer and put my life in pe-  
 „ rill for her cause, without venturing my sonne and house  
 „ in like daunger. Most surely the saying was lamentable,  
 „ and the more it is considered , the more profounde it is:  
 „ whereby it appeareth, that he helde him self for nōt so  
 „ fortunate, to be establisched in the Empire : and that he  
 „ left his sonne in greatest felicitie , to be depryued of the  
 „ Empire .

Although Pertinax were olde and graue, and was placed in the height of the Empire , he alwayes vse  
 greate vrbantie towardes all men , in suche wise that no  
 man did him reverence , vnto whome he did not utter  
 some courtesie: according to the qualitie of the person.

Fiftie seruauntes in Rome in one night and in one houre,  
 slewe their maisters ; for whome the Emperour caused  
 so diligent searche, that onely ffeue escaped : and the paine  
 that he commaunded they shoulde suffer, was, to carrie the  
 dead bodies bounde fast backe to backe, in suche wise that  
 the stenche of the dead , did finishe the wretched life of the  
 living .

In the schoole where Pertinax studied , a certeine  
 Romaine named Valerius was there also a student, and  
 being alwayes in companie, and of age not much unlike,  
 and continuing in greate friendship, did many times eate  
 with Pertinax , which during their repast were never  
 hearde to talke, but of science , knighthood , repaying of  
 Rome, or else the resoration of the common wealth.

It did well appere in Pertinax, that he sooke the Em-  
 pire against his will : for truely ; neither in his dyet, ni-  
 ther in his apparell, either in his gesture or speche, ev-

ther in any other thing , did he behauie him selfe as an  
 Emperour , in suche wise , that he presumed not to re-  
 present what he was , but what he had bee . He saide  
 manie times , that in this wōlde he never made the  
 like faulte, as when he accepted the Empire : and many  
 times made motion to leaue the same , and to returne  
 vnto his house : but that he did recomfort him selfe with  
 this saying : that for as muche as he was of so greate  
 age , he might not liue longe , but be deliuered of his te-  
 dious life.

## CHAP. VIII.

¶ Of certeine vices wherewith he was  
 infected , and of the pro-  
 digies of his  
 death.

As the Emperour Pertinax was olde , so was he char-  
 ged with the infirmities of olde age : that is to saye,  
 with auarice , because in gathering and keeping of mo-  
 ney he was verie diligent: and in giuing or spending verie  
 dull and unwilling.

Also he was noted to be a man verie flesible in his af-  
 faires : that is to saye , he was not stiffe , either greatly  
 did vse therein any contradiction , but that which one did  
 counsell him, another might easly persuade the contra-  
 rye: the caule whereof was his good naturall inclina-  
 tion, whiche coulde not without griefe, beholde any man  
 that was in sorowe.

Also

Also Pertinax was noted, that he never denied any thing that was demanded, although many his promises were never performed: for, at most times he promised to give that which was impossible to be accomplished. And because the maiestie and greatness of Princes doth consist to haue and possesse, whereof to give: they ought much to be aduertised in consideration, what is craued of them, and what they promise: for hauiug to do (as they haue) with so manie, and to furnishe so infinite necessities: they ought, if their subiectes be vnshamefast in crauing, to be graue in promising. Ioyntly with this, Princes ought to be aduertised, that where they haue once gaged their royll worde, all things set aparte, they ought to perfourme the same. Pertinax was twise married, his seconde marriage was with the daughter of Vulpitianus, whome he made prefete when he was made Emperour. As concerning the vnhastitie of his wife, also Pertinax was noted: whiche is to wete, of negligence in governing, and remisse in reprehending her, for that truely shē was both young and faire, absolute and dissolute: and reported in Rome, to be more enamoured with a young Musitian then with Pertinax her olde husbante. Also Pertinax was much noted to haue vled vnlawfull loue with Cornificia his neere kinswoman, whome he had nourished from her childdhood: for shē was committed by her fa-ther unto his protection: this matter was no lesse scandalous then soule and no lesse soule, then scandalous: for that suche like, and so great euill, was not conuenient to a man of so greate age, either permissible in a Prince of so great gravitie. Some prodigious and straunge signes appeared before his death, especially on a time, offering certeine sacrifices unto the Goddes Penates, that when the coales were moste kindled and on fire, soudainly they were seene all dead and quenched: whiche did signifie, that in the greatest certaintie of his life, soudainly death should assaile him.

Not sixe dayes before he was slaine, as in the temple of

of Jupiter he was offering great sacrifices, with his own handes he offered a Peacocke, wherein he found no hearte, when it was opened, and soudainly the head vanished, when the throte was cutt. Eight dayes before he was slaine, a Starre ioyned with the Sunne, and did shone at noonie dayes, as if it had beeне midright. Thre dayes before he was slaine, Pertinax dreamed that he fell into a fishepond: and that there was a man with an huge kniſe, to kill him, and woulde haue fled and could not. Iulianus, whiche after succeeded Pertinax in the Empire, hauing a ſephewe newe married vnto his ſeece, and hauing repaireſ vnto Pertinax to viſite him, Pertinax ſaide vnto the young married man: be good, and I ſhall holde and eſteeme thee as my ſonne: ſerue thy vncle Iulianus as a father, because he is my fellowe in office and ſuccellour. They had beeне ioyntly Consuls, and afterwardes Iulianus in the proconsulſhip was ſuccellour vnto Pertinax: and althoſh he ſpake it of the ſuccellour of the proconsulſhip, yet they conueied his ſpeeche to be a proghoftification of his ſuccellour in the Empire. It was diſcovered vnto Pertinax, that the Consul Falconius deſired and alſo pro cured to ſuccelde him in the Empire, and to that ende had taken a deuile to diſpatche him of his life, of whiche caſe Pertinax grieuously complained vnto the Senate: the truthe whereof being afterwardes tryed and knownen, he as iſtantly inſcreated that Falconius might be pardoned: ſaying, he had rather extoll him ſelue by his clemencie, then boalſe him ſelue of his vengeaſe: whereupon Falconius was pardoned, leading his life euer after in his house: and for that he had beeне in greate honour, and amongſt the Romaines muſe eſteined, but by that treaſon had loſt his credite, within ſewe dayes, mere ſorrowe gaue an ende vnto his life.

## CHAP. IX.

Of the occasion that the Pretorians tooke  
to murther him.

THE officers that Commodus vsed for his service in court, as Chamberlaines, Secretaries, maisters of housholde, clarkes of the kitchin, porters, cookes, and such other, Pertinax had not chaunged, staying that chaunge vntil the daye of celebrazion of the buryldg of Rome: for he helde opinion, that before the cul shoulde be remoued, it were greate reason, at leasure to make election of others that were god. That which Pertinax had thought to haue done in his house, he determined also to execute amongst the captaines of warres, and other officers of the common wealth, because they were so absolute in commaunding, and so couertous in robbing, that if the paine were recompenced with the fault, it had beene a small matter, from euery one of them to haue taken awaie life.

When affaires of importaunce are deferred, the secreat thereof incurreth greate daunger: and for this cause, as Pertinax deferred this matter from day to day, all officers suspected what he woulde do with them, and therfore determined to dispatche him of his life. Extreme-ly was Pertinax hated of the men of warre, and of the particular officers of the common wealth: which hatred proceeded not of any iust offence, done by this god Prince, but for that he consented not that they shoulde robb & committ vile deedes. Many times the wicked beare enuie vnto the good, not because the vertuous suffer them to do well, but for that they consent not vnto them to do euill: for so peruerse is the malice of soome peruerse persons, that they take more delight to do euil vnto others,

then

then to receive benefite vnto them selues.

Unto all the officers of the common wealth, Pertinax commaunded that they shoulde enioye intierly all fees and profites appertaining vnto their offices: and vnto all the Pretors, and soldierys of the warres, he prouided their wages very well paide them: and besides all this he dealeth not with them as with bassals, but the chieftaines he did honour as brethren, and to meaner persones he speake as unto his sonnes: but all this notwithstanding, they liued in greate passion, and no lesse discontented: for that in tyme past, their extraordinarie robberies were muche more then their wages. But thus was the case.

On a daye, certeine Pretors of the armes did assemble at a dinner, with other officers of the citie, as also diners seruitours of the courte: and after they had largely eaten, and abundantly drunken, they begaine to talke of the dayes of Commodus: that is to saye, howe then they were at libertie, riche, and honoured: and now since Pertinax reigned, they were poore, captiues, and defaced: and that the faulfe thereof consisted more in their owne cowardise, then in any other person. And further proceeding in this matter, they concluded to spoile Pertinax of his life, and to choose another Emperour of Rome at their liking, which shoulde renewe the memorie of their Lorde Commodus, and violate all actes that Pertinax had confirmed: and that it was a moze safer waye to bee gouerned by a wise young man like Commodus, then by an olde dotyng sole, as Pertinax.

Partely, for that they had their heades troubled with drinke, and their stomaches boate with eating, but aboue all the rest, furiously inflamed with falke, soudainly they rose all from the boarde, and every man goeth home to be armed, with a determination to dye in that enterprise: or, that same daye to dispatche Pertinax of his life.

All

" All the people being at quiet, and Pertinax rechelesse  
 " and without regarde, the pretorians of the armes, with  
 " a greate number of armed men, some trayling their lan-  
 " ces, and others with swordes drawen, marche vnto the  
 " imperiall palace, where Pertinax was reposing: for that  
 " it was but little more then past noon. And as they ap-  
 " proched the house, they began to exclame: the memorie  
 " of Commodus liue for euer, and the false olde Pertinax  
 " is but dead. All such as were present with Pertinax in  
 " the palace, neither knewe what to doe, and muche lesse  
 " what to counsell: some saide vnto Pertinax that he shoulde  
 " sende for succour vnto the people: others, that he shoulde  
 " hide him selfe in some secrete place: others, that he shoulde  
 " fight vntil his friendes shoulde sende reliete: finally, the  
 " case conteined so greate confusyon, that he whiche feared  
 " least, did feare to lose his life: because all those deintie  
 " courtiers had exesse of garments to walke in the streetes,  
 " but wanted armour to come forth to fight. It seemed vnto  
 " Pertinax that to demaund succour, there was no time:  
 " and to attempt to fight, they were too fewe: to put them  
 " selues to fight, there was no place: to traueile to be hid-  
 " den, were a greate blemishe: the god prince determined to  
 " come forth & to talke with the pretorians, to see if with  
 " wordes he might apease them. And as afterwardes they  
 " reported which were present with him: that greate con-  
 " flict, Pertinax did wel discouer the greatnessse of his mind,  
 " and howe little he esteemed the Empire, and also, howe  
 " muche he loathed the vanities of this worlde, because hee  
 " neither shewed any appearance of feare, for that he heard,  
 " either chaunge of countenaunce, either was troubled in  
 " any thing that he had to saye. Pertinax caused the gates  
 " of his court to be set wide open, and came foorth of his  
 " chamber, having no manner of armour or weapon, and  
 " began to reason with them that did inuiron him after this  
 " manner.

## CHAP.X.

Of a notable speach that the Emperour Pertinax vsed, when his  
 " souldiours came to kill  
 him.

IF this so greate commotion, whiche this day ye  
 haue raised ( O my friendes and commilitants )  
 be for that I seeme not worthy of the Empire of  
 Rome: ye haue to remember, that I neither ob-  
 tained the same by suite or request, either bought  
 it for money, but that forceably ye made me  
 to take it, I of my parte imploying my forces to  
 resist it. And if it be, for that I haue had no regard  
 vnto the common wealth, yee knowe howe ofte  
 I haue requested to cease from gouernement, and  
 to departe vnto my house: and since this is moste  
 true, I knowe not to what end ye shoulde remoue  
 me perforce from that whiche I woulde haue lefte  
 and remitted with greate good will. And if for  
 that I haue beene ingrate vnto my mother Rome,  
 or haue vsed euill gouernement in the common  
 wealth, ye will take away my life, then I cannot  
 but confess it to be a worke most iust, albeit there-  
 by I shoulde be pursued, not onely with paine and  
 griefe, but also with infamie: because such a death  
 yealde more paine and shame to deserue it, then  
 to suffer it. And if ye thinke your selues dis-  
 graced, to haue a Prince that is not descended of  
 the Fabians, of the Metells, of the Fabritians, or

of some other notable Romanes : in this case impute the fault vnto the Gods , whiche so haue created me, and vnto your selues who with such conditions woulde electe me Emperour : because in naturall matters neither deserue we prayse , for y we haue , either reprehension, for that whiche wee lacke. It were more iust (O my friendes and commilitants ) in this case to haue respecte, not to the shadowe and vanitie of linage, but vnto the vertue & grauitie of the perso: for it strectheth vnto small purpose in good gouernemente , to be descended of generous bloude , and to bee of filthy life . And if ye haue been altered, for wante of pay of wages, for the whole or in parte, presently giue me to vnderstande, and I swaere and promise, that present- ly euerie man shall entirerlie be paide : whiche if it be so , I am vtterly without faulfe : since vntill this present I neuer hearde thereof . And seeing ye be gentlemen of greate power , and Romanes of noble bloud , ye haue to consider in this case , that according vnto our lawes , innocencie and ignorance of the fault mitigateth & diminisheth the extremitie of punishment. And if in case ye be escandalized for y ye see mee rigorous, hard, & extreme, & y I am so reputed amoungst the people : as small reason haue ye in this case, as in the rest , because vniuersaly they craue that justice be done, and yet they abhorre y execution thereof. And if ye would blame me for the death of Commodus my predecessor , and your Lord: ye haue seene by experiance howe muche I am blamelesse , and that vnto mee, more then to anie man, his death was grieuous: and that this is true , call to your remem- brance

brance the day on which Commodus was slaine : where in I sawe you singe for ioy : and of greate griefe ye sawe me to weepe . You Romaines, y<sup>e</sup> ou may not denie mee , but that the death of Commodus was of you all desired , and my election of you all allowed : and since it was so , I maruell that men of so greate authoritic and grauitie, shoule in uente so straunge a noueltie as this. that is to say , in so shorte space , to hate that whiche ye procured : and to haue an appetite to that which ye loathed. I sweare by the immortall Gods , I knowe not of anie vile deede which I haue don against the com- mon wealthe , wherefore ye should abhorre mee: neither knowe I anie thinge that Commodus hath done since hee died, wherefore ye shoulde loue and desire him : for if we sighe for the dead , it is not for their deedes done , after that they died : but for the good woorkes whiche they perfourmed when they were liuinge . If for no other cause then to take away my life, ye haue ioyned and armed all these men of warre : certeinlie it is a thinge super- fluous and vaine , in as much as I am both sicke & olde , and with the burthen of the Empire so muche discontented , and with my life so muche displeased, I esteeme little to liue, and much lesse to dic.

It grieueth me not so muche to lose my life , as it doth of the slander and infamie whiche ye lay vpon our mother Rome : whiche is to say , that the Romans whiche haue bene renowned for their loyaltie towarde their princes , shoulde haue reporte throughout the worlde, to haue slaine their Empe- rour.

Ye knowe that ye beeing (as ye are) men of warre, and to no other end so well payed and relieved of y<sup>e</sup> tribute, but to chasticke such as rebell in the commonon wealth, and to defende the house and the imperiall persone of your prince: and since it is thus, what may be more vnseemlie, impertinent, and scandalous, then such as be admitted for my garde and safteie, that they and no other shold come to take away my life. And for as muche as ye be men of warre, ye are bounde to obserue the lawes there of: that is to say, euen in the warrs of enimies, yee may not, or ought not to kill chil- dren or olde men: and since I am an olde man, and a citizen of Rome, wherefore will yee do with mee, that which yee will not do with an enimie? In these wordes whiche ye haue saide, in the dis- order whiche ye haue vsed, and in the houte wherin ye haue vndertaken this matter, it clearely appeareth that to enterprise so greate a matter, ye haue not vsed greate prouidence: for if ye had consid- ered and examined the matter, ye shoulde moste certainlie haue founde, that in your determinati- on to kill mee, there is no other fruite gathered, but to raise in your mother Rome a greate scandal, and to thruste your selues in great daunger. And since one shall inherite the Empire, and not all: with what folly are you taken ( ye Romaines) for ye al to hazarde and lose your selues for one mans gaine, and yet knowe not, if afterwardes that one man shall be gratefull or vnthankefull. I may not flee that whiche the destinies haue ordyned, ei- ther what ye haue determined: but in case

this

this be my last day, and my fatall houre be come: I pray the immortall Goddes, that the innocent bloude whiche shal be shead of me, that the vengeance there- of fall not vpon my mother Rome: but that euerie one of you doth feele it in his person and his house.

When Pertinax came to the pointe, to speake these woordes, for the molte parte al that were presente let fall "teares from their eyes, and beganne to departe, turning "their backes, and holding downe their weapons: because "they had greate shame, to offend and to wante reuerence "vnto so honourable hōte haires, and to woordes so wel spo- "ken. He that molte vilie had spoken against Pertinax, "he that most had motied y<sup>e</sup> men of warre, was one named "Tuncius of y<sup>e</sup> countrie of Theutonio: this wretched cay- "tive whē he saw, that al men returned, and had renoun- "ced to kill Pertinax, he thrusst a lance, through the midelt "of his bodie: with whiche wounde, Pertinax fell to the "earth, and therepon gaue him other woundes wherof he "presentlie dyed. Greate sorowe was it vnto the people "of Rome, when they vnderstoode that Pertinax was dead, "and hauing reigned but fourteene moneths & xx. dayes, he "profited more the commonwealth, the others in fourteene "yeares. The traytour Tuncius was not cōtent to haue "slaine Pertinax, but he also and his companions forgotte "not to cut off his head, to fire it on a lance, and to beare "it through the streets of Rome. Pertinax died the fiftē "daye of April Falconius & Clarus being Consuls, his head "was throwne of his enimies into Tiber, his bodie burie- "ed by his friends and kinsfolkes in the sepulchre of his fa- "ther in lawe, at that present without anie funerall pompe, "because they slewe all persons that uttered sorowes or "grieves for his death.

Q. III. THE

*The life of the Emperour Julianus, that  
bought the Empire, compiled by  
syr Anthonie of Gueuara, Bishop of Mondon-  
nedo, preacher, chronicler, & coun-  
seller vnto the Emperour  
Charles the fift.*

## CHAP. I.

*Of the life, lineage, and countrie of the Empe-  
rour Julianus.*


 He Emperour Didi<sup>o</sup> Julian<sup>o</sup>, had to his great grandfather a Romaine named Salianus, who was a learned lawyer, twise Consul, Pretour of the citie, and died in the secod yeare of the regne and Empire of Nero: and they say, he died of pure sorrowe, to see the common wealth in the hanters of so furous a tyrant, as Nero.

His grandfather was named Salbius Julianus, who gaue him selfe more to armes, then to letters: and went vnto the warres of Dacia with Traiane, and was captaine of the seconde Legion, and longe time vntider of the victuallis, and in the ende dyed in his office, that is to say, in the warres against kinge Dacus. His fater was named Didilius Petronius, who neither gaue him selfe to science, either folowed the warrs as his predecessor, but was residente and liued always in Rome, following his affaires, and holdinge offices in the common wealth; hee was an

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assured friende vnto Antoninus Pius, and dyed in the Empire of the good Marcus Aurelius. His mother was named Clara Emilia, a generous and noble Romaine, a greate friende and kinswoman of Domitia Lucilla, that was mother vnto Marcus Aurelius: so did she intreate and fauour him as a sonne, and he did obey her as a mother. The first office that Didius Julianus did beare in the common wealth, was Decembriato, which is to wete, to be one of the x. visitours of y<sup>e</sup> people: and though he wanted age to vse it, yet he wanted not fauour to obteine it, because Domitia, mother vnto Marcus Aurelius, did crave this office for him in the Senate. He was also Questor two yeares together, which office he helde against the Romaine lawes, s<sup>t</sup> that he was vnder the age of xxx. yeares: but as hee obtained the office of Decembriato by the sute of the mother, so did they graunte the other, by the fauour of the sonne, which is to wete Marcus Aurelius. And after that Didius Julianus was past the age of thirte yeares, he never wanted offices in the common wealth: for vntill that age, y<sup>e</sup> Romanes had rather that yongemen shoulde occupie them selues in learning, then in commanding and gouernement.

Julianus was Edil, Pretor, and Censor diverse times, divers yeares; and at times muche distant: but the office wherin he continued longest time, was Romane Pretor: because he had learning to gouerne, and iuste to execute. He was naturallie giuen to the warres, and with this motion he went one time into Germanie, where hee neither obtained fame, either augmented his goods: for that certeinly he was more handsome in gouernement, then hardie in fight.

He gouerned by the space of thre yeares, the prouince of Belgica, whiche nowe is named Swetia, in which gouernement, he behaued him selfe so venturous, y<sup>e</sup> he obteined what he had lost in the warre, which is to say, much reputation in the common wealth, and greate goodes for his house.

In the seconde yere of the Empire of Marcus Aurelius, the inhabitants neere vnto the riuer Albo (whiche is in the kingdome of Bohemia) rebelled, vnto which commotion Didius Julianus repayred: and as hee was humble of speache, skilful and aduisid in his affaires, so in short space he redyred them vnto the service of the Romaine Empire, wherby the Senate had intelligence what Julianus had done in Bohemia, the Emperour thought he melle con- therin verie well-servid, and the Senate no leesse con- tented: chieflie, soz that so exactlie, hee had perfourmed the same, without requeste or commaundemente; and in recompence of this so singular a service, they sent him the Consulshipe, without his requeste, or any other to sollicite the same, vntill the newes of Consulshipes came vnto Julianus, they sawe that he said; I sware by the immortall Goddes, that I neither sollicited the Consulship, either thought to haue obtained the same vnto me here in, it clearelie apperseth that the good dothe more sollicite with his good wyrkys, then the crud with his mafie synnes. And when vnto the yere of Consulshipe, hee after he had accomplished the yere of Consulshipe, hee was sent vnto y llower Germanie as Praetor, which countrey is nowe called Flanders, where he remained two yeres; & after hee returned to Rome, where he had charge of treasurys, which office amongst the Romaines was more profitable, then honourable. The Emperour Marcus Aurelius being deade, his sonne Commodus reaigning in the Empire, Julianus was accused for a traitour, for that he, and Silvius his coulten, had conspired to haue slaine Commodus; his accuser was a n nye gentleman of Rome, named Seuerus: but for that he might not proue his accusacion, they cut off his heade, and set Julianus at libertie. At one time Julianus was in fayour with Commodus, & an other time in disgrace: but after that he was accused of conspiracie, he did alwayes bear him mortall hatred: and when he understande this in Commodus, both in worte and deede, maste times he kept his house, and excused

excused him selfe from the offices of the common wealth. Julianus was a lawyer, and in letters moste learned: of whome it is laid, that fewe did surpasle him in science, and none was equall vnto him in eloquence: for hee did neuer pleade anie cause in the Senate, but he obteined the victorie. He was prompt in speache, sharpe in propounding, and graue in determination, of stature somewhat lowe, of sanguine complexion, and in his youth begaine to be ho- reheaded: of whome in this case it may be saide, that hee was a monster in nature: for that he had never a white haire in his bearde, either anie blacke haire in his heade. His wife was named Malia Escantilia, and had but one daughter named Didia Clara: In this also as in the other, nature woulde be extreme: because the mother was the moste soule woman that had bene scene in Rome, and the daughter was the fairest dame, that ever was scene in I- talie.

As Julianus had governed manie countreys, had the charge of victuales, & was chiftest aduocate in lawe in al Rome, so he obteined the possession of manie iuells, and the hoarding vp of greate summes of money: for whiche cause, all the principall Romaines sought to be his sonnes in lawe; partie to marrie with the daughter that was so faire, as also to iherite the goods, that were so greate. Julianus was slender, dry, and towards his later dayes he was growne to be cholerik and iust, he never dranke wine, and therefore did eat muche; and yet notwithstanding, he was so curios and so costlie in his manner to drinke water, that with leesse cost he might haue drunke wine. Beinge nowe growne olde, and rich, and hauing but one daughter, whiche also was married, Julianus gaue him selfe to liue in ioy and pleasure, that is to say, vsed not but to solace alongst the riuers, to haunte places fre- qued with people, to recreate with friends, to talke of times past, to seke exquisite and delicate meates, and alwayes to haue newe questes; in such wise, that hee did haue eache thinge, that was displeasante, and did and procured what

so euer might yealde pleasure. Julianus longe time perseuered in Roine in this manner of life, according to which life, he had neither faithfull friendes, or feared and cruell enimies, because if anie did loue him, it was soz that hee gaue them some of his money; and if others did hate him, it was because they received no parte of his riches.

## CHAP. II.

Howe the Empire of Rome was set to sale,  
and also fould by proclamation.

AT the instante that þ Preitorian bandes had slaine the Emperour Pertinax, they aduised to toyne in one, to seaze the walles, to take the gates of Rome, and that with an armed power: partelie soz that the people shold not rise against them, as also to chose an Emperour at their owne liking. Although the common people behelde the imperiall palace besette, yet they did not shinkie that they woulde haue slaine the Emperour: because the sanis went amongst them, that Pertinax was come soorth, and that with milde wordes he had intreated them: but as it after chaunced, though the greate troupes were retayzed, Pertinax was slaine by the fewer number. Wher þ death of Pertinax was notified vnto the commoþ people, al Rome was readie in armour. Merie greate was the confusion whiche was that day in Rome, both of the one parte, to see Pertinax slaine, and also soz that þ armie was bent against the people, and euerie houre redie to toyne & kill eache other, but that they knewe not againste whome to fight: because the people woulde haue taken vengeaunce of the traitours that had slaine the Emperour, but the armie woulde not deliver them: in suche wise, that they were

were all faultie in that facte, the one in the acte, the other for consent.

The moste principall of the Senate, manie matrones of Rome, molle wealthy persons, and such as loued peace and quietuſſe, after that they salwe the walles besette, the towlers taken, the gates lockt, and the streetes stopte thorough out al Rome, they departed vnto their inheritanſes, vntill they might see the conclusion of that so perilous & scandalous a tumulte: for they had had experiance, that no man might be ſafe in his house, vntill there were a new Emperour: and that the election of him, shoulde be conſerated with the handes of manie persons. The Preitorian bandes beholding the moſte parte of the people to be ſled, and none leſte that durſte revenge the death of Pertinax, or reſiſte their attempts: they lost al feare, and recovered a newe courage, not to amende the fault whiche they had committed, but to giue and ſell the Romane Empire. The caſe was thus, that a man at armes mounted vpon the wall at the gate Salaria, who in the name of the whole armie made proclamation, and ſaide with a loude voice: Is there anie man that will giue more for the Empire of Rome? is there anie man that will ſet a price? for vnto him that will giue moſt money, we will giue it for his owne. Of all the iniuries, disgraces, and calamities, that the Frenchmen, the Assyrians, the Hunnes, the Gothes & the Lombards did vnto Rome, none was equal vnto this, whiche is to ſay, to ſet the greatuſſe and maiestie of Rome in open ſale. It was greate grieſe to ſee it, and also preſetlie to write it, to ſee and heare proclamation, who will giue money for the Empire of Roine: vnto whome a foſe time the whole worlde had giuen tribute. By this ſo notable example, þinces and mightie Potentates are to be admoniſhed, what greate mutabilitie is conteined in thinges of this worlde, ſince the ſame persons, that had ſene Rome the ladie of ſo manie and greate kingdomes, did also ſee her ſolde, proclaimed, and bought for moſey.

All the gentlemen, auncient Romanes, and Senatours, coulde not fill or satissie them selues with weeping, when they behelde and hearde the proclamations made out at windows; and that whiche did moze grieue them, was the greate infamie whiche alwayes shoulde followe Rome, in that shē was set to sale: and of the daunger also of the common wealth, which was to be bought of some tyranie. Those that woulde haue bought the Empire, had no money, for that Commodus had overviewed and ransackt their store: and those that coulde haue bought, of greate grieue and no lesse shame, woulde not deale therein: for in respect of the iniurie that they shoulde haue committed vnto their mother Rome, it might not be saide, that they bought it for money, but solde it vnto some enemie. In conclusion the segniorie of Rome, and the greatnessse and maiestie of y Empire, passed in publicke proclamations, by the space of three dayes, in whiche no man woulde buye it, or sette it in price: in so muche as the Pretorians were despited that no man woulde giue money, and the common people in greate sadnessse that they woulde sell it. The fourth day after Pertinax was slaine, as Didius Julianus was at supper with greate pleasure, and talking howe the Empire continues in proclamations, his wife, daughter, and sonne in lawe persuading him to aduenture to buy it since the Pretorians were growne to so great wante of shame as to sell it. Julianus consideringe of the one parte what was saide by proclamation, and on the other parte, what his friendes did persuade him, left his eating, cast downe his heade, and gaue him selfe profoundlie to consider of the matter, whiche is to wete, whether it were simplicitie to leaue, or bilante with money to buy the common wealth.

Julianus being verie pensatiue with hym selfe, and inde-  
termined, his wife, daughter, and kinsfolke, yet againe  
replied, saying, that it was not nowe tyme to blinde him  
selfe with studie, but to profit hym selfe by his money: and  
that also he had to consider, that it were lesse euill to buy  
the

the Empire with his owne proper money, thē as other, to obteine the same by losse of mens lives: and that he shoulde not care to deferre the entente by delares, since the Pretorians grewe displeased, and proclamations to be cut off. As Julianus naturally was proude, founde him selfe riche, and also importuned by his friendes, he determined to buy the Empire: and for the purpose presently goeth to the foote of the wall, and crieth out vnto the watch that was thereon, saying: for bloud, ye knowe me to be descended of noble Romanes, and in riches most wealthy: and that he woulde giue them so muche money for the Empire, that they shoulde be abashed to see it, and tyred to tell it. The Consul Sulpitius, fater in lawe vnto the Emperour Pertinax, in secrete did solicite the Pretorians to giue him the Empire, not to the ende he woulde buy it, but that they shoulde electe him: but the Pretorians, although they sawe that he was a noble Romane, and not unworthy, but verie conuenient for the Empire, they durst not put them selues into his handes, doubting that he afterwardes remembred the death of his sonne Pertinax, woulde execute on them some rigorous revengement. Sulpitius was a man wise and sapient, reposèd, and auncient: with the good wil of the Senate, and request of the people, to him and no other woulde they haue giuen the Empire: and doubtlesse had it not bee[n] for the aliaunce which he had with Pertinax, who was his sonne in lawe, they woulde rather haue giuen it him frackely for nothinge, then haue solde it vnto the other for money. The Pretorians being muche despit[ed], that they might not receive money for the Empire, since four dayes they had proclaimed the sale thereof, and nowe finding Julianus at the foote of the wall, who had offere[n] money for y Empire, they put downe a ladder, and tolke him vp vnto them. Nowe, when Julianus sawe hym selfe in grace with y Pretorians, and y Pretorians hauing hym in their handes, they demanded moze

more then he possessed, and hee did offer more then hee had. The case was thus: that they with him, and he with them, did capitulate iiiij. thinges, whereof none was to the honour of Rome, & much lesse to the profit of the common wealth. Their firste capitulation was, that he should give them presently 300000. sextercies: the secound was, that he shoulde neither revenge the death, or sustaine the same of the Emperour Pertinax: the third was, that he should erect y picture, & renewe the memorie of Commodus: the fourth was, that free-  
lye they might do, vnder his Empire, as they had done in the dayes of Commodus: in such wise, that Julianus did not onelie buy the Empire for money, but also gave them licence to live wickedlie. This donne and concluded, the euenent of the Empire was lopt in Julianus, the Pretorians receiving him in the mids, and attending him throughout all the citie, publishinge with loude voices, Long life be euer vnto the Emperour Julianus, Commodus alwayes Augustus. Julianus wold take that ouername of Commodus, to do the pleasure that had sould him the Empire: who in their iuorture were bred vp w Commodus, & in their maners and vices as his owne naturall childzen.

## CHAP. III.

Of the great and mortall hatred which the Romanes did beare vnto Julianus, for buying the Empire.

Julianus being created Emperour, his first act was, to offer vnto y gods sumptuous sacrifices: being (as it was) the custome of all newe Romane Emperours, presentlie he sent vnto his treasurie for money, to pay them of whom he had bought the Empire. It was a monstorous matter to see y iuels that he brought forth, & the diversite of money which he had: the cause therof was, that he had

had bene a gouernour in diuersc kingdomes, and from them al, brought no small sumes of their coyne. Incontynent after Julianus obtained the Empire, he brought his wife and daughter vnto y court, whiche toke vpon them y names of Augustas, & began to be serued, not as Emperesses, but as Gaddesses: because in their stateliness & presumption, they sought rather to be adored then serued. The Consul Sulpitius at the houre in which he vnderstoode that Julianus had bought the Empire, departed vnto a certeine house that he had in the countrie, giuing his office vnto Cornelius Repentinus his sonne in lawe, who (as they say) did much resemble Commodus, namely, in disposition of person, and corruption of maners. Julianus gaue vnto the army most great thanks, not onely for that they had giuen him the Empire, but also because they had intituled his wife & daughter Augustas and without his request also, had giuen him the name of Pater Patriæ, father of y countrie: which title was y most famous y the Romans gaue vnto their Emperours. On y other day after he was intituled Pater patriæ, early in the morning they founde these Latine, letters written vpo his gates, P. V. E. P. souding in this sense, Proditor, Venditor, Emptor, Patriæ: and thus meant in english: thou art the traytor, the seller, & buyer of thy country. Unquenchable was the fury & hastynesse y the whole people concienned against Julianus, only for y he had bought the Empire, which rancor and hatred they coulde not so couer within their breastes, but that they published it with their tonges, and shewed it with their handes: for on the first day that he came forth in to Rome, they not onely blasphemed him in the stretes, but also from their windowes threwe stones at him: neither did they vine, suppe, or walke in Rome, or in all Italie, but alwayes their talke was of y treason whiche the Pretorians had committed in selling the Empire, & the greate mischiese that Julianus had done in buying the same.

The Senate going to the highe Capitol, to visite the newe

newe Emperour, resistance was made against them : which was not done with armed people, but by boyes in the stretes hurling stones at them, and the women from their windowes did curse them : which being considered by the Senate, they aduised for that time to returne to their houses, no lesse offended, then feare. All men bewayled the case with manie teares, and offered unto their Gods many sacrifices, humbly praying that it might please them, shoulde to take away the life of Julianus, & to execute cruel vengeance on y murderer of Pertinax. On a certaine tyme the Circen playes beeing prepared, and the seate imperiall placed aloft vpon the Theater, when the Emperour Julianus shoulde haue set, certayne of y people rashly not only did remoue it, but also did breake it in pieces : and he as he was wille and aduised did feele it as a man, and did dissemble it as one that was discrete. Besides that whiche they sayd in his absence, they despised him in his presence : and he happened manie times to haire with his owne eares, wordes not a little ouerthwarte and iniurious : but he was so subtile in that whiche he saide, and no lesse dissembling in that whiche he hearde, that all the iniuries whiche they saide or did, either he toke them in teste, or did counterfete, not to haire them. Naturally Julianus was a prince of greate vngvanitie, that is to say, courteous, affable, gratiouse, and pleasant, and did honoure & reverence every man according to the merit of his person & the estate whiche he held : yet notwithstanding, he could neither get friends, either apease enimies. Neither Catilene with his tyrannies, either Silla w<sup>th</sup> his seditions, either Nero with his cruelties, either Commodus w<sup>th</sup> his vices, were not vniuersallie so muche hated in the Romane Empire, as Didius Julianus : and their hatred was so extreme, that they shut their eyes, because they woulde not beholde him : and did abstaine to murmur at him, because they woulde not name him. When they salwe his hōzle passe the stretes wheres on hee did

did vse to ride, generally they would praye unto the Gods " that he might traile him : or if they had scene his meates " carried, they did wylle it might choke him : finally, they " did all abhorre his life, & wished his death. Julianus his enimies bruted among the people, that on the daye, when the Pretorians had slaine Pertinax, he had made a gerasous and curiouse banquet, wherin he gaue to eate oysters of the Adriatike Seas, Capons of Capua, wine of Creete, and water of Cantabria : but aboue all, had Musick and daunceing after dinner. Others saide, it was moste false, but on that day he kept his house, and of pure sorrowe to see Pertinax slaine, did not eate, vntil they had giuen a sepulture unto the dead bodie. Moreouer they saye, that althoough Julianus was gladsome, pleasant, and also vicious, yet he did not excede in extraordinarie expences, and that it was unlikely and also impossible, for him to haue made so sumptuous a banquet : for it was many times notorious vnto al me, y he did eate in his house no other flesh by the space of iii. dayes, but on Yare, whiche was sent him. He was such a miser to spend, & so desirous to hoozd and lay vp money, y had it not bene for some dayes of fastes, or his bidden guests, not a morsel of flesh was eaten in his house: but only fed of his prouision from his gardeyn. Many euil customes that Pertinax had remoued from the common wealth, brought in by Commodus, he consented y the Pretorians & other vicious persons shoulde vse them : not that he delighted therein, but to recouer them to be his friendes. At all tyme when talkie was moued of his predecessor Pertinax, he would say neither god nor euil, but that either he changed into some other matter, or else by dissimulation would seeme not to haire. And being demaunded, why he did neither alowe or condemne that whiche was saide of Pertinax in his presence: he answered, of the one parte Pertinax was so holy, that there was not in him to be reprehended: and of the other parte, he was so hated of y pretorians, that he durst not in their presence giue him his due commendation.

The life of the  
CHAP.III.

¶ Of two Romaine Capteines named Seuerus and  
Pessenius that rebelled against  
the Emperour Iuli-  
anus.

AT the time that Julianus bought the empire of Rome, there was a Pretor of the armes in Assyria, named Pessenius Niger: who although he was inferior unto Julianus in wealth, yet in vertue he exceeded Julianus: this Pessenius was a man, grosse, rough, and of greate courage, and naturally was more happie in martall affaires, then fortunate in the gouvernement of the common wealth: all which proceeded, for that in periles he was not daunted with feare, and in trauels had no patience. At the first letters that Pessenius received from Julianus, they saye, he aunswered: the Romane Empire, doth not use to suffer it selfe to be gouerned by so evill a man, as is Julianus: Wherefore, if this commaundement be onely from the Emperour, I obey it: but if it be Julianus commaundement, I appeale from it: wherupon it followed, that from thenceforth, when any commaundement was sent unto Pessenius from Rome, Julianus name was not in the firme thereof, but onely superscribed with the Emperour of Rome. After this matter was discovered, in Rome, they laide great wagers, which was most to be praised, the minde of Pessenius for his haughtie attempt, or the patience of Julianus that could dissemble the same. Also at that time the armes were gouerned in Illyria, by a capteine named Septimius Seuerus, borne in Africa, and bred in Rome, which in justice was verie right, in condition sharpe, and in martial affaires most fortunate. This Septimius Seuerus from the houre he had intelligence of the death of the Emperour Pertinax, and that in his place succeeded Julianus, would neither receive letter, either

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either obey commaundement, that came from Julianus, either else from the Senate: saying, that they for consenting, and he for buying the Empire, were inabilitate of all power to commaund or to gouerne: and further, an evill friend was Julianus unto Pertinax, that sold his bloud unto enemies, and bought his Empire for money. But the case was thus, that Pessenius in Assyria, and Seuerus in Illyria, revolte with all their armes against Julianus: Whereof being aduertised, they saye that he said: the gods be pleased to retaine in my service, all such as be in peace: small is my care, if the rest had taken their leau. Although Julianus saide thus much openly, secretly he conuine the contrarie, which was after wardes better known by his works which he did, then by the wordz which he saide. If Seuerus had deadly hatred unto Julianus, moche surely Julianus was not in loue with Seuerus: for presently, when he understood that he had rebelled against him, he framed and brought to passe in the Senate, that Seuerus was proclaimed a publicke enimie of the people of Rome, and all his armie dispatched and condemned. The Senate prouided at the request of Julianus, that Vespertinus Candidus, a man both olde & a Consul should de parte to Assyria & Illyria: which was not onely disobeyed in the armes, but also not so much as heard: the cause therof was, the infamous Ambassage which he brought: & because afore time, he was much hated being a Pretor in the warres. After Vespertinus was returned unto Rome, they sent againe unto Illyria, Valerius Catulus, but to small purpose: for if they disobeyed the prouisions of Candidus, at Valerius they ran with lances. Candidus & Valerius being returned to Rome, Julianus and the Senate sent againe Aquilus Centurius, who had commaundement to kill Seuerus, & that by any manner he might: that is to say, either fighting w<sup>t</sup> him in the field, or secretly to gine him poison. Seuerus being aduised, hewe the Emperour Julianus and the Senate had sent the third time Aquilus against him, determined to bring forth his armes

from Illyria, and so come to Rome to seeke Julianus: and marched with so greate spedē vpon the way, that when Aquilus came soorth of Rome, Seuerus was then in the confines of Italie. Incredible was the feare that fell on þ Romanes, after they vnderstood that Seuerus was come againt them with all his armes: and their terrour was increased, to consider that he was a capteine of Rome, whiche vntil that time, had beeне a defender of the comon wealth, and also soz that he had made so great spedē vpon the way, and leade his armes with so great reformation, that in one and the selfe same day, they heard of his arriuall, and also behelde him in the face. The Capuans sent a solemne ambassage vnto Seuerus, to be aduertised of the purpose of his journey, and to offer him their help and assistance; whome Seuerus received with greate benignitie, and saide these wordes in greate secrecie. I come not to destroye Italie, either haue I taken armour to go against my mother Rome; the ende of my comming is for three thinges: which is to weete, to rescue the Empire from the tyrant Julianus, to reuenge the death of the Emperour Pertinax, that was old & honourable, & to resourme the Senate, of such as dare amongst them to aduenture to giue euil counsel; for that I conceiue to serue my common wealth no lesse, in clensing vices, then defending enimies. That whiche Seuerus saide vnto the Ambassadours of Capua in secrete, presently they discouered openly: whiche being understood in Rome, the Senatours received thereof greate sorow, and the people greate pleasure: because the one did hope to attaine libertie, and the other did feare chascement.

Julianus gathered all his men of warre, to the vttermost of his power, and sent them against Seuerus, vnder the conduction of Tullius Crispinus: the whiche, after he was aduertised that Seuerus had taken Rauenna, and all the countrie adioyning, returned vnto Rome: which feminine acte gaue dismaye vnto Julianus, and courage vnto Seuerus.

Julianus

Julianus also commaunded a muster to be made in the field of Mars, of all the Pretorian armes, and he hym selfe came to take a viewe, and an accoupt of them, conferring such as came vnto the muster, with the names that were written and receiued money at the paye: of thre partes, there appeared not one: wherof Julianus collected, that Seuerus came not onely with confidence of such as he lead with him, but also of them which remained in Rome.

Greake pleasure was it vnto the popular sorte, to beholde howe Julianus was forsaken of his capteines, and not attended on of his Pretorians: because every dayes their hatred did increase against him, and their loue with Seuerus. Notwithstanding Julianus procured munition & victuals, repaired the walles, made trenches, aduaunced engins, and sent scoutes into the fieldes: all which deuises smally profitid the sorrowfull Emperour Julianus: soz if he helde the walles of Rome, his enimies possessed the heartes of the Romanes. Julianus suspecting that Letus and Martianus being two Consuls, and men of greate reputation, shold practise with Seuerus, commaunded them to be slaine, without accusation or iudgement.

## CHAP.V.

¶ Howe by the commaundement of the Senate, the Emperour Julianus was slaine.

¶ Still Julianus had slaine the afore named noble Consuls, the Romanes reputed him onely covetous and ambitious, but from thenceforth they published him to be covetous, ambitious, suspicioous, and cruell: soz it was a lawe amongst them much vised, to take away the life of no citizen of Rome, before he were heard to saye soz him selfe. After that Julianus perceiued the Senate to growe sorrowfull, and the people scandalized, soz the death of Letus.

Letus and Martianus, he came to greate repentance, al- though to small purpose: for it was past his handes to give life vnto the dead, either to reconcile him selfe into the grace and fauour of the living. Princes and ministers of justice ought to be very mucche considered, and no lesse aduised, in crediting their suspicions, and to auoide ei- ther choler or rashenesse in their executions: to the ende, that after it happen not, that for the deedes of one daye, they haue to remedie and also to bewaile all the dayes of their life.

With greate instance Julianus requested the Se- nate, that they with the Priestes and vestall virgins would meeete Seuerus and his armie with procession, to see if they might pacifie with prayers whome they might not resist with armes. This suite the Consul Faustius ref- used, saying, that it were not conuenient, that the sacred Senate, either the Priestes of the temples, or the holie vestall virgins, shold intend matters of warre: for the office of such was to solicite the Gods to give vs peace: and further, the Consul Faustius saide: he that possesteth an Empire, and knoweth not to defend an Empire, containeth the indignitie of an Empire. This answere was no lesse displeasant vnto Julianus, then pleasant vnto the Se- nators, whereby he obtained not, that which he desired, and they grewe vnbrydled to speake at large. Julianus not contented with that which was done, but called in se- cret certeine his capteines and friendes, whome he com- manded soudainly to enter armed into the Senate, and to saye vnto the Senatours, that of two thinges they had to make choyce, that is to say: to lose their lives; or else to obey his commaundementes. Amongest the other cap- teines there was one named Crispinus, which saide vnto Julianus, he is to be thought no small enimie of thine, that gaue this counsell: because, if thou be well aduised, for thy loue the Senate haue declared them selues to be an enimie to Seuerus: and nowe, if thou attempt to kill them, they

they will aunswere, that they will obey the: and on the other parte, they will declare Seuerus to be a friende vnto the people, and thou an enimie vnto Seuerus: and fur- ther, the Gods neuer permitte, that thou shouldest give swyth any such commaundement, or that I shoulde per- fourme it: for, if he be evill that giueth evill counsell, more vile is he that executeth the same. Julianus chaunging his conceite, practised with the Senate, that he woulde yelde vp the Empire vnto whome it might please them: which they liked verie well, but durst not at that present to debate therein: for Seuerus at that time was so neare vnto Rome, that it was rather in his handes to take the Empire, then to receive it at the handes of the Senate. Julianus forgat not to sende his Capteine Crispinus a- gainst Seuerus: against whome, Seuerus sent another capteine named Iulius Lucius, who ouercame in the bat- talle, and slewe Crispinus.

When Julianus considered howe his enimies pre- uailed, and his friendes did forslake him, he purposed to take the advise of Witches, inchaunters, and soothsay- ers, to vnderstand his destinies, and the Fortune of Se- uerus; and the case was thus: that after he assembled many Sorcerers and Magicians in his owne house, he made them practise many sorceries and inchauntments, and to sing and praye many filthie, terrible, and fowle thinges. And (as they after reported which were pre- sent) he him selfe chaunged countenaunce, and with staring hayres, discouered him selfe to be in great terroure. Julianus came vnto the Senatours, cravinge their advise, howe he shoulde provide and behauie him selfe: for that Se- uerus approached, and fauoured of Fortune, who had him in contempt.

None of the Senatours answered one word, but the Consul Geminus, which said: neither art thou worthie of counsell, or deseruest remedie, since thou hast forsaken the Senatours, which shouldest haue graſ thee counsell, and

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wentest vnto Sorcerers, who could not but deceiue: for that in such a case, being inuironed with sinister fortune it had beene more sounde and sure counsell, to haue gone vnto the priestes, to haue pacified the Gods with their sacrifices, then vnto sorcerers which by witchcrafts shoulde leade thee into their indignation. Julianus sent vnto Capua, all his guarde, & the sworde players of Rome, whose capteines were Lelius Titianus, and Claudianus Pompeyanus, which he did to the ende Seuerus shoulde thinke, that since he had courage to sende to offend him, he shoulde haue no lesse to abide him. The fater in lawe of Julianus was named Aratmenis, whome Julianus perswaded and requested to take halfe the Empire; in suche wise, that bothe shoulde haue beene intituled Emperours of Rome: and ioyntly therewith swore and affirmed, that he did it not to remedie the necessitie wherin he stode: but for greate god wil which he did haue him: who answered, this whiche thou sayest, Julianus, be thou assured, that I will neither do it, either do I loue, but yerketh me to haue it: because to gouern the Empire I am blinde, to trauile I am weake, and to inioye it am become olde: and much more respecting the age whiche I possesse, and the travells whiche I haue passed: I am more apte to make peace with the Gods, then to take warres in hande against men.

All the men of warre that were in Etruria, did passe vnto the seruice of Seuerus, whome he would not by any meanes receive, vntil they had sworne to be innocent of the death of Pertinax. Seuerus at the breake of the day, discouered him selfe with all his armes, two leagues from Rome: whiche being knowne vnto the Senate, ioyntly they agreed to determine two thinges: whiche is to wreke, to remoue Julianus from the Empire, and to deprive him of his life, and in his place to elect Seuerus Emperour.

Then one of the Senatours came soorth from the Senate, and published with open voice vnto the people, that

that they shoulde hold it for certeine, that by the authoritie of the sacred Senat, Julianus was deprived of the Empire, and in his stede Seuerus elected Emperour. Great was the ioy that the people received, when they heard Julianus " to be deprived of the Empire: and presently at the instant " who best might, made most hast to receiue the newe Em- " perour: and none passed by Julianus house, that threwe not " stones at the windowes, and spat not vpon the walles. At " the houre that the Senate went forth to receive Seuerus, " they sent a Gentleman to kill Julianus, who expressing the " sorrowful ambaillage whiche he brought, with many teares " Julianus requested that he might not be slaine, before hee " had seene Seuerus: but the gentleman durst do no lesse, then " to cut off his head, because the Senate stayed at the porche " Salaria, and hadsworne not to procede to receiue Seuerus, " vntill they were certeinly aduertised, that Julianus was " slaine. The unforntunate Emperour Julianus being dead, " his wife Malia and his daughter Escutilia tooke the body, & " buried him in a Sepulcher of his great graundfather, on " the right hand of the way of Lavinia. Julianus was noted " to be a glutton, a gambler, covetous, and ambitious: and on " the other part, he was pitifull, amorous, eloquent, grave, " and subtle. He liued 56. yeaeres and 4. monethes: he reigne- " ned 11. monethes and 5. dayes. After his death they did " neither give his body honourable funeralls, or con- " stiuened his Sepulcher. This was the end of Julianus, who being old, honourable, & rich,

would for the exchaunge of the Em- " pire, give his gods, aduenture

his fame, and losse

his life.

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The

The life of the Emperour Seuerus, compiled by syr Anthonie of Gueuara, bishop of Mondonnedo, preacher, chronicler, and counsellor, ynto the Emperour Charles the fist.

CHAP. I.  
Of the lineage and countrie of the Emperour Seuerus.

**H**E auncient lineage of the Emperour Seuerus was of Africa, his grandfather was named Fulvius Pius, and his grandmother Agrippa, which came and died in Lepe, an auncient citie in Mauritania, & was destroyed in the warres of Iugortha, & Massimila: his father was named Geta, and his mother Fulvia Pia, a people neither renowned in armes, or glorious in bloud, either indued with riches. Seuerus was borne in Etrutio, Clarus and Seuerus being Consuls, the 4. day of April: and as his mother reported, she had with him a difficult childbirthe, very tedious to nourse. In his first infancie, he chiefly delighted to play with other childdren his fellowes, the play of Judges: and when his lot fell to be Judge, as that pely did he challice their trifling faultes, as he did afterwards challice their errours in earnest. HEE learned the Grecke and latine tongues withl such singular perfection, and was so prompt to speake, write, read, & dis- pute in the said tonges, as if hee had bene borne in those countries, and learned no other languages. At the age of xvij. yeres he was a publique advocate, and defended causes in lawe: in such wise, that if he had followed Science, as hee did warres, hee had bene no lesse renowned in science and letters, then he was famous in armes. He was not full xx. yeares of age, when he first entered Rome: in which dayes, there reigned the right happie Marcus Aurelius, and by intercession of his kinsemann Septimius Seuerus, hee had the office to register baily such as either died

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or were borne in Rome: which office, although it were not profitable, yet was it an occasion of great acquaintance, & to be throughtly knowne: because nightly he wetc to Court to report who was borne, or had died that day. The first night he entred Rome, by chance his host wher he lodged was reading the life of y Emperour Adrian, wherin was relation of y great perils which he passed, before he might atteine the Empire: Seuerus said unto his host in iest. In trauels & perills I imitate Adrian: I hope also that I shall succede him in the Empire. By chance, as y Emperour M. Aurelius made a general & sumptuous supper unto many noble Romans, Seuerus was amongest them, & at the tyme that he shuld haue taken his seat at the table, wout regard he placed him in the Emperours chaire: and when others derid him for his negligence & folly which he had comittēd, Seuerus aunswere: Peace & gibe not, it is possible (my destynies may be such) that as I nowe sitt in the imperiall chaire in iest, so one day I may sit therin in earnest. Seuerus d̄reamed on a night, y he suckt the teats of the wolle y nurst Remus and Romulus, which dreame he alwayes held soz a great god signe of his future Empire. In y tyme of his youth, he was both absolute and dissolute, especially in womens matters, & other vanities: for which causes hee was many times taken, banished, & shamed. In the offices of warre, he was placed in them all, especially the office of Questor, which he held long tyme: and it is said of him, that having by that office charge of monie, he was diligent in recovering, & faithful in dividing & parting therof. In y moneth of Januari, in the 5. yeaire of the Empire of M. Aurelius, it chaunted him to be Proconsul of Betica, which now in Spaine is named the kingdome of Andoloizia, where he remained y space of a yeaire & a halfe: in which gouernment he was no lesse loued then feared, and feared then loued.

Seuerus being Proconsul in Betica, received newes of his fathers death in Africa: wherupon he presently passed into Africa, partly to execute the obsequies, and to give his father an honourable Sepulcher, and partly to take order

order for a sister that was left unto him, and goods whiche he did inherite. The Consul that then was resident in Africa, sent Seuerus for his Embassador to the Sardinians, whiche were revolted from the Romanes: and entering into Sardinia with certeine burning torches, according to the maner of an Embassador of Rome, there came unto him a townesman after the fashion of a iester, and did imbrace him, whom Seuerus commaunded to be whipt, saying: In the act of so great grauitie, trifling gibes be inconuenient. For that which this iester did, and for the disgrace which Seuerus received, they ordyned in Rome, that from thence forth, Embassadors alwayes should enter all cities on horsebacke, as in times past they had used on foote. Continuing Proconsul in Africa, he would needs understand of a Mathematician or Astronomer, how farre his fortune exceded or did reach: and having received the day and houre, and also the ascendent of his nativitie, the Astrologian being amased and terrifid of the Fortune which his nativitie did promise him, said unto him: It is not possible that this be thy nativitie, & therfore were it meete thou shouldest give me thine owne, and not the nativitie of another: for were it true, that thou wast borne vnder such a constelation, thou shouldest be Emperour of Rome. At the age of 32. yeares, hee was in Rome elected Tribune of the people: moze for the pleasure of Marcus Aurelius whome he serued, then for the seruice that Seuerus had done in the common wealth: but afterwards he proved so toward, and was so upright in causes of justice, that it neither repented the common wealth to haue chosen him, either Marcus Aurelius to haue procured the same. His Tribunal office being ended, he was named Praetor of the people: and on the day of his election, the more to aduaunce his honour, the Emperour passing throughe the streates of Rome, placed him with himselfe in the Licker: which daide was not a little reproched, of some throughe enuite, and of othersome throughe disvaine.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

¶ Of the offices which Seuerus held in the Empire, before he was Emperour.

The affaires of Spaine being dispatched, Seuerus sailed into Asia: and assone as he had set his foote a land, hee departed unto Athens: partly to behold the gouernement of the Greekes, and partly also to heare the doctrine of Philosophers: because in those dayes, they talked not of any matter moze in all this world, then of the great Fortune of the Romanes, and the profound eloquence of the Greekes. Not a few dayes he remayned in Athens hearing the Philosophers, conferring with the Senatours, visiting temples, and viewing buildings: because naturally he was a friend of new inuention, & desired no lesse the knwoledge of antiquities. Although Seuerus of person was valiant, and Capitaine of Rome, and also of indifferent eloquence, yet they gaue him no god interteinment in all Grecia: for which cause when he came afterwardes unto the Empire, he strightly reuenged the olde vnkindnesse which he bare unto the Greekes, euery day diminishing their priuiledges. Being returned from Asia unto Rome, hee was sente Embassador unto the prouince of Lugdune, which nowe in Fraunce, is named Lion of Sonorona: and being at that time a widower, they practised with him a mariage with a certeine Lady of noble bloud, in countenance most faire, and gracious in gesture. That Lady was named Iulia, & of royall bloud: unto whome purposing to present iewels of great price, and finding no goldsmith sufficient to performe the same: being also aduertised of a goldsmith in Syria that excelled all men in that facultie, and doubting all messengers to be insufficient, trauelled in his owne person, to fetch the same: & as he after made reporte unto his spouse, that with the rewards which he gaue unto the goldsmith, and the charge of that voyage, hee might twise haue bee

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maried. The Senators set to reprove Seuerus, not because he had married, but for the great iourney and large expences which he has passed for a woman: aduising him, that it was not conuenient for a citizen of Roome, to imploy his person, but to advance his honour: either consume his goods, but for deuise of the common wealth: whereunto Seuerus answeardo, that for none of those matters wherof he was blamed, he either deserved blame or punishment: because without all comparison, much more was the misrite of that Lady with whom he was married, then the expences or travells whitch for her seruice he had suffered. And farther he sait: it semeth vnto mee (fathers conscript) that for this acte I deserue honour, & no blame, since theraby ariseth vnto Rome, both honour and profite: because strange kingdoms haue seene, that Captaines of Rome, to obteine riches, haue strenght & skil, and to spend them haue noble minds. Seuerus stayed ioyntly 3. yeares in Fraunce, both loued and feared, & no lese reuerence of the Frenchmen: not ouely for that he was iust in iudgment, and liberal in expences, but aboue the rest, in that he was of a sincere life. The Calends of Januarie being come, (at what time in Rome they diuide their offices) the Proconsulship of Sicilia was allotted vnto Seuerus, wherof he received no smal griefe, partly for that he found himself very wel placed in Fraunce, & feared the condition of the Sicylians. Being resident in the Isle of Sicil, he was accused by his enemis of Rome, that he did not exercise the gouernement of the common wealth, so much as the search of southslayers, whis shold be Emperour of Rome: because in those dayes Commodus was Emperour of Rome, and all men helpe it for certaine, that for his wickednesse he shold be slaine, or himselfe, for his great vices, shold die. Commodus received great displeasure when hee understood, that being (as hee was) aliue, and but a young man, Seuerus shold seeke for the succession of his Empire: for which cause Seuerus was forced presently to depart from Sicil, & come to Rome, there to discouer and make profe of his innocencie:

nocencie: because the daunger was no greater, then losse of honour and life. Presently vpon his arriuall at Rome, he did yeeld himselfe vnto the gaile Mamortina, and would not depart from thence, vntill by publique sentence his innocencie was vtered, and his accusers deprived of their liues. Two monethes after these matters passed, the Calends of Januarie were come, in which Seuerus was elected Consul, ioyntly with Apuleius Rusticus: the day that this was published, they say that Seuerus said. This day it is manifested in mee, that men neither know what properities be conuenient for them, either what aduersities doe impeache them: and I say it for this cause, for that criminally I was accused in Rome, and my person prisoner in the place of malefactours: wherof there proceded, that I departed from Sicil, came to Rome, giue safetie vnto my life, augment my goods, recouer fame, take vengeance of mine crimies, and obtaine the Consulship of the common wealth.

The time passed of his Consulship, hee stode an whiele yeare without any office; and as he afterwards said many times, the best and merriest dayes of all his life, were contained in that yeare, wherin he had no office in the common wealth. In those dayes, Letus the Captaine of the guard was greatly in fauour with y<sup>e</sup> Emperour Commodus: by whose intercession they coniunded the garrisons of Germanie vnto Seuerus, who so skilfully behaued himselfe in that tourney, that he returned 2. yeares after vnto Rome with great honour, & no smal riches. At his retурne vnto Rome, Seuerus bought a certaine compasse of land wherin to till for corne, and to feede and breed cattell, and alongest the riuere Tiber hee bought certaine stately and fertill gardens, where hee bulit houses of great pride, which long time after were called Seuerians.

At a certaine time supping in those gardens vpon the grasse, where the freshnesse of the greene was verye great, and viqualls very small, the case was thus. His owne sonne, of the age of ffeue yeares, did gaine and

" divide vnto all persons, of all thinges that were there, vnto  
 " to whome the fater said: temper thy hand (sonne) in re-  
 " parting, because thou hast no reall riches to giue. The  
 " childe made aunswere: if I haue them not nowe when I  
 " am a child, I shall haue them when I am a man. All men  
 " present wondered, considering the age of the child, that so  
 " graue an aunswere should procede from so tender youth.

## C H A P. III.

¶ How the Pretorians did electe  
 him Emperour.

In the 10. yeare of the Empire of Commodus, Seuerus was sent in message vnto the prouince of Germanie: in which Ambassage, he obteyned much honour, and no small wealth: for naturally he was of great dispatch in affaires, and skilfull to gather monie. He was resident in Germanie the space of thre yeares, that is to say, vntill in Rome they had slaine the Emperour Commodus: of whose death he had great pleasure, and of the election of Pertinax no lesse ioy: because the liuing was his most special friend, and the dead his mortall enimie. Not many monethes after he received newes how y Emperour Pertinax was slaine by the Pretorians, and that he (for very monie) had bought the Empire, he was much greeued with the death of y one and the election of the other. Seuerus was aduertised how Julianus was in great hatred of the people, for merchandizing of the Empire: presently at the instant the men of warre that he had with him, declared him Emperour: whiche was done in a citie named Carunto, on the xiij. day of the moneth of August. That day whereon the armies did aduance him as Emperour, he gaue and diuided amongst them so great summes of monie, as never any Emperour had done afore time: for he gaue, not onely all his owne, but also the treasure of his friends. With great sped Seuerus sent vnto y armies of Illyria in Pannonia, in Spaine,

Fraunce,

Fraunce, and Britaine, and gaue them to understand how Pertinax was dead, that Julianus had bought the Empire, and that the armies of Germanie had elected him Emperour: but that he would not accept the same, vntesse they (as true defenders of y Empire) would consent vnto their election: wherein all, with one conformitie, did alioue that election which the Germanies had made of Seuerus, and vtterly did adnihilate all consents and elections that had or might be to the aduancement of the Empire of Julianus: and vpon condition that Seuerus should first be sworne, to reuenge the death of the god Emperour Pertinax: and to giue his fauour vnto the men of warre. Presently when y Seuerus sawe his Empire confirmed by the men of warre, speedily he tooke his way towards Rome: vpon which way not onely he had no resistance, but in all places was received with great ioy. Two Consuls, 100. Senatours, 30. Questors, 22. Judges, 14. Tribunes, 10. Pretours, 400. priestes, and 50. vestal virgins, came forth to receive Seuerus: vnto whom he sent to give understanding, that if they would behold his face milde, that all persons of al armour, either open or secret, should disarmee themselves: for that it was sufficient that he was of the warres, and they to receue him in peace. They being persons of so great honour, riches, and auncient, that came forth to receue him, were not a little despited, that Seuerus should commaund them to be disarmed, but in the end they accomplished that whiche was commaunded them, and from thenceforth conctued against Seuerus mortall hatred: because if they disarmed their persons of armour, they did arme their hertes with malice. And as Seuerus was proud with his Empire, and the Consuls and Senatours wise and aduised, neither did he perceue them to be offendid, either did they discouer themselves to be greeued or despited: for that, if they had patience to suffer the iniurie, they wated not wisedome to dissemble the same. As Seuerus was subtile and skilful, he did two thinges before he entered Rome, wherewith he greatly wan the fauour of the common people: wherof the

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first was, that he publikely changed his ouer name, whiche is to wit, that as he afoore time was named Septimius Seuerus, after he was named Seuerus Pertinax: & this he did, to the end al men shold perceiue, & taking the name of the god Emperor Pertinax, he wold likewise solowl & steps of his god life, and profite himselfe by his god doctrine: for Pertinax was not only loued as a man, but also adored as a God. And the second thing which he did, was, to comand al the bands of Pretorians, which were the men at armes which guarded Rome, that leauing all armour, they shuld come & do him reverence: which were the men y had slaine the Emperor Pertinax, not for his owne deseruynge, but for that he consented not to their wickednes. Seuerus secretly had agreed with his armie, that they shold haue regard to compasse them round, in such wise, y finding them unarmed, they shold stop al meanes to recover y same for their defensē: either place of safetie to lie unto. And now, when they stood all unarmed, & compassed, Seuerus commaunded a general silence thoroughout his armie, and directed his words unto those homicides or manslaers, speaking after this maner.

## CHAP. III.

¶ How he reuenged the death of the good  
Emperour Pertinax.

Although al humaine things be subiect vnto vanitie & mutabilitie: yet this preminēce haue y gods aboue men, y al things being subiect to changing and variablenes, they remaine immutable: & al things perishing & finishing, they for euer do continue; because there is nothing perpetual, but such things, vnto whiche the gods do giue perpetuitie. The great Romaine Empire much reſēbleth the immortal gods of heauen: because all the kingdomes of the earth be finishing & haue

haue their ends, but she is perpetual: all are weake, and she strong: all be subiect, she at libertie: all vanquished, and she invincible: finally, she is she, y neuer suffered her better, or endured another y was her equal. And as it is most true, y the gods neuer giue reward without a preceding merit: so do they not giue punishment without some fault in him, whom they chastise: wher of it followeth, y since the gods haue giuen vnto the Romanes so many and so great triūphes, there ought to be in them many & very notable deseruings. There be two things which cause the Romans to hold frēdship with y gods, & to be lords of mē, which is to wit, great worshippers of temples, and conseruers of people in iustice: for that countrie where temples be not honoured, and the wicked chastised, may be better termed a den of theevies, then a kingdome of good men. Ye all vnderstand that be here present, howe ye haue slaine the Emperour Pertinax, a man most surely both holy and most holy, because the greatness of the Empire, being conferred with the sinceritie of his deseruing, it had not beene much for him, but rather a smal reward, to haue beene Lord of the whole world. In this deede ye haue offended the gods, escandalized men, committed treason vnto your Lord, defamed your countrie, troubled your common wealth, and brought all Rome vnto confusion, in such wise, that your fault being so exceeding, it may not deserue any parcialitie in punishment.

Now that ye haue slaine him, is it as if ye had slaine Caligula, Nero, Sergius, Vitellius, Domitiā, or Commod<sup>o</sup>: no, but Pertinax, which was one of the princes most without reprehēsion, that euer reigned in y Romaine Empire. As princes be few & wilful, so it is a

venture, to chance on such as be good: & so much the more deserue ye the greater paine, as the good Pertinax was profitable vnto the common wealth. Vnto whome shall Rome aduenture to commit her trust, since they which were appointed for her guard, haue set her a sale? O treason neuer thought of! Oh wickednes neuer heard of! to kill the Emperour, and to sell the Empire. After the vassals haue slaine their Lord, and the nativies of the countrie haue sold their common wealth, I know not why the gods comaund not the ground to swallow you vp, and presently putt not fire into Rome to consume it: for, after so great an infamie, Rome ought neuer more to be named in this world. Who should haue said to Quintus Cincinatus, Numa Pompilius, Camillus, Marcus Fabritius, Mutius Scæuola, Silla, Marius, Scipio, Iulius Cæsar, Augustus, Germanicus (who with great and many triumphes did both beautifie and magnifie Rome) that ye should haue set Rome in open sale? I firmly beleue, and am out of doubt, that they would haue died of pure sorrowe: or else would haue slaine your progenitours from whom ye are descended. Frō the time I departed out of Germanie, I came musing vpon the way, what punishment I should giue you: for of the one part, if I suffer every one of you with his life, it redoundeth to the scandal of the common wealth: and if I would take the same from you, the paine is very smal, in respecte of your extreme fault: for vnto one that is euil, they doe him no small benefite, to rid him out of this world. I comaund your noses to be slit, your tongues to be boarded, your garments beneath the wast to be cut off, and your beards halfe shauen: yec shall liue without honour, cre-

dite,

dite, or libertie as slaues & bondmen in the common wealth: in such wise, that ye shall not die as the good do vse to die, to the end to liue: but ye shal liue as the wicked do liue, to the end to die. Neither doe I suffer you to liue, because ye deserue life: but for that I will not staine my fame with your filthie bloud. If in giuing you al death, I might giue the good Pertinax his life: not onely yours, but also right willingly would I offer mine owne: because there is no vent more iust, then y one good life (by y exchange of many wicked liues) might be bought & redeemed. If the gods would permit, that at the houre I should comaunde ye to bee slaine, ye should recuie and recouer life, a thousand times would I take away your liues, because the horror of your offence deserueth a thousand deathes: but since losse of life, in a momēt, doth deliuere the malefacter of his scourge and torment, and afterwardes no other meane remayning to take vengeance: it is more iust that ye should liue euery day desiring death, then that ye should die abhorring life. There is nothing more iust, then to kil him that killeth: but I comaund not that ye be slaine, although ye durst kill the good Pertinax: and this I do not, to the end to do no iustice, either to doe you good or pleasure: but for that many yeares ye shall haue time to bewaile your wretched life, and his innocent death.

## CHAP. V.

¶ Of thinges that he did in Rome, present-  
ly after he was Emperour.

¶ After that Seuerus had said and finished his speach, and comaunded and banished the murtherers of the Emperour

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Emperour Pertinax, he determined to enter Rome, and his receyving was mixt with ioy and sorrow: because of the one part seeing him so great a frened of iustice, they reioyced; and on the other part to see him compassed with so great armes, they feared him. Presently vpon his entrie into Rome, he visited y temples (according to the custome of the Romane Emperours) and there he offered no small, but generous & sumptuous sacrifices. Although in his receyving, a great part of the day was spent, and in visiting temples the rest was consumed, and now whē it was night, he was requested of all men to take his ease, and to withdrawe vnto his palace: yet he would in no wise consent, vntil he had visited the Sepulcher of the god Marcus Aurelius: where he remained a great space vpon his knees, and poured forth many lamentable teares. The next day he went vnto the high Capitol, where all the Senate was assembled, and there he spake vnto all the Senatours, Consuls, and all other Romane officers: to whome he said many god words, and gaue them great hope of many rewards. All the people of Rome were astonied, & terrified, to behold the great audacitie and fortune of Seuerus: which proceeded of consideration howe without daunger, and lesse trauell, hee obeyed the Empire: for that he gat it not by shedding others bloud, neither by the exchange of his owne proper godes. The first day that Seuerus spake in the Senate, he made a solemne vow before them all: Neuer to kill any Romane, if he were not iudged by iustice: or to take the goods of any person, if by the fiscal he were not condemned. If it had beeene found in Seuerus woorkes, which hee sware that day in woordes, namely, that they might not accuse him of crueltie, either note him of covetousnes, it had beeene a great weale for the Romane Empire: for there is nothing wherwith princes doe more destroy their common wealthes, and also staine their persons, then to bee giuen to revenge their owne proper iniuries, and covetous of other mens goddes. Forthwith at his beginning, Seuerus did shew himselfe milde, benigne, pitifull, liberall, valiant har-  
ted,

ted, affable, gratioues, and humaine, imbracing his familiars, toying and laughing with straungers: in such wise, that the Romanes went after him, hearing what he said, and praising what he did. If in humaine affaires he were prouident, in diuine matters surely he was not negligent: for that every day hee visited temples, honoured priests, offered sacrifices, repaired edifices, heard orphans and afflicted: in such wise, that in victories they compared him vnto Julius Cesar, in humaine policies to Augustus, and in divine thinges to Pompilius. The old Senatours and auncient Romanes, that had beeē bred with Seuerus from their youth, were amased to see how his euil condition was changed: and on the other part they thought with themselves, that all which he did was but fained: for of his owne naturall condition, he was subtile, warie, milde, and double: and did know how to denie his owne will for a time, in that which hee wished, to doe afterwardes with all men all that he desired. It is a point of wise and skilfull men, to ouercome their owne wills in small matters: afterwardes to drawe others after them for causes of greater importaunce.

Althoughe there bee more credite to bee giuen to that which wee see, then vnto that which wee suspect: yet in this case they were more deceived, that praised Seuerus in his god woorkes, then those which did suspecte him for his old subtleties: for that in shorte space they vnderstode in him great cruelties, and no lesse disordinate covetousnesse. Those that from their youth bee not bredd in vertuous woorkes, or that naturally of themselves bee not of good condition, they may for a time deceiue some persons with their guiles: but in the end their malice commeth to the notice of all men: all which was experimented in Seuerus, who vsed violence with his owne proper nature, vntill hee sawe himselfe in possession of the common wealth. The first office that hee gaue in Rome, was vnto Flauius Iunel, whome hee made Pretor of the people: of whiche prouision of the one part he pleased all men, because Flauius was

us was a vertuous person: and on the other parte it did grieve them, because he was seruant vnto Iulianus. The whole armie that Seuerus led with him, he also brought into the citie of Rome: and being in quantitie great, and of condition proud, they might not be contained within the citie: for which cause they lodged not onely in houses priuileged, and in sacred temples, but forceably brake vp doores and entred houses. The Romanes received the same for a very great iniurie, because they onely felt not the despight done vnto their persons, but also did bewaile the breach & losse of their liberties. Thre dayes after Seuerus entered Rome, the captaines of his armies sent to demaund of the Senat, to haue giuen them an hundred thousand pesants of gold, which were due vnto them: for that in times past, so much was giuen vnto them that first entered with the Emperour Augustus. At the houre when y captaines sent these words vnto the Senat, presently and ioyntly they armed themselves, and marched vnto the field, swearing and forswearing, by the life of Seuerus, & by the world of Marcus, that if it were not giuen that day, at night they would sack Rome. After that Seuerus heard, that his armie was in readinesse in the field of Mars, and without his comandement, he was not a litle scandalized, thinking there had bene some treason against him amongst y people: but the truth being knownen, he requested them to be pacified, and to disarme themselves, saying: that it proceeded not of wise Captaines, but of seditious persons, to demaund with threatenings, that which would be giuen by request. Seuerus saw himselfe in great trauell, to finishe agreement betwixt the one & the other: but in the end giuing them some monie out of his owne coffers, and some from the common wealth, he brought them all to a vnitie: which was, y vnto the Captaines was giuen lesse then they demaunded, and the Romanes paid somewhat more then they offered. Before all things, Seuerus did celebrate the obsequies of Pertinax: whereat all the Romanes were present, and offered that day vnto the Gods great sacrifices, accompting Pertinax

Pertinax amongst the Gods, and placing Prelates to do sacrifices vpon the sepulchre, that so euermore shold sustaine his memorie. When Seuerus entred the Empire, he found many rents of y treasurie mortgaged, which is to wete, the royall patrimonie, wherein he gaue order for the redēming thereof, to be reduced vnto the royall crowne. Seuerus had two daughters of ripe age, the one of xxv. the other of xxx. yeres, whome he married within twentie dayes after he came to Rome, the one with Prolus, and the other with Laertius, men of greate wealth and riches, and generous in bloud. Seuerus offered his sonne Prolus the office of Censor, which he refused, saying, that he sought not to be sonne in lawe vnto the Emperour, to be a scourge of euill men: but to be serued of god men. Seuerus made bothe his sonnes in lawe Consuls, and about Rome he bought them great rentes, and also gaue them large summes of money to spend, and to his daughters he gaue Jewels, wherewith to honour them.

## CHAP. VI.

¶ Howe the Emperour Seuerus passed into Asia  
against capteine Pessenius that  
rebelled against him.

¶ Ne of the famous capteines that rebelled against the Emperour Iulianus, as hath bene recounted in his life, was Pessenius Niger, who with the armies that were in Assyria, did gouerne and rule all Asia. Seuerus rose in Germanie, and Pessenius in Asia: and notwithstanding they were both traitours vnto their Lorde, the difference betwixt them was, that Seuerus for his comming vnto Rome, they aduanced vnto the Empire: and Pessenius for remaining at his ease in Asia, was condemned for a traitour. At the houre that Iulianus his death was published, presently Pessenius inuested him selfe with the

title of Emperour and Augustus; in such wise, that Seuerus in Europa, and Pessenus in Asia, had diuided betwixt them selues all countries and prouinces: and much more the one from the other had diuided their willes & mindes. Pessenus was very wel aduertised in Asia, howe Seuerus had entred Rome with a great power: and was in state of gouernement as naturall Emperour of the common wealth: but neither for letters that were witten vnto him, or for any thing that might be saide vnto him, woud he obey Seuerus, or muche lesse shewe any feare of him. Pessenus was grosse of person, valiant, warlike, and of al men, with whome he dealt, very well liked: and surely, if he lost the Empire, it was not for want of friendes in Rome, but that he abounded with vices in Asia. After that Seuerus sawe, that neither for threateninges, either for promises that he made, or for letters that he wrote, he might not drawe Pessenus Niger vnto his service, he determined to conquer him as an enimie; although (as he afterwardes saide) he wished not with him to come in contention: because Pessenus was a friende in earnest, and no enimie in iest.

Seuerus commauded a muster to be taken of all the men he had, and tooke the names of all persons that he might haue with him out of Italie, commaudinges them to prepare, and to pay his officers, & that all thinges should be done with molte spedie diligence: for his intent was to enter with so greate haste into Asia, that his arriuall, and the newes thereof, at one instant, might appeare vnto Pessenus.

All the armies of Illyria which he had left in Thracia, he commauded to passe into Asia: and all the Senators, all the warrelike officers of Rome, all the riche men, and all the sonnes of mightie and greate Lordis that were in Italie, he ledde with him in that warre. He armid in the Sea Mediterrane an hundred galleys, and also rigged forth two hundred shippes, fiftie barkes, and innumerable foystes: all which went laden with men,

men, armour, and victuals: in such wise, that in respecte of his greatnessse and potencie, there was none that woulde encounter with him by lande, either abide at the sea.

Onelie xxx. dayes Seuerus was in Rome, dispatchinge with the Senate, he departed vnto the porce of Hostia, to beholde his nauie, and from thence he departed to Nola in Campania, where his armie was assembled, where he added many thinges that wanted, and also remoued many thinges that were superfluous: because in thinges of greate importance, he was not satisfied to giue them in charge to men of experiance: but that he woulde see and beholde them with his owne proper eyes. When Pessenus Niger heard the newes, howe Seuerus came agaist him by sea and lande: they say that he saide, these woordes: If the destinies be bente against me, small may it auiale me, that men fauour mee: and if Gods be pleased to help me mee may little hinder me. And further he saide: Seuerus is not satisfied to haue slaine his Lorde Julianus, and to vsurpe the Empire, but hath made mee an enimie vnto the people of Rome; but I beseeche the immortall Gods, that if it shal not please them to giue me victorie in this warre, that Seuerus may bee conquered, when hee moste desireth to overcome. Although Pessenus commended his fortune into the handes of God, notwithstanding he left not to seeke the aide of men: & to this ende he did wryte and send Ambassadours, vnto the kinge of the Parthians, to the king of the Arthabanes, and to the king of the Armenians to succour him with men & money, because Seuerus came with a determinate minde to destroy them all.

The kinge of the Armenians aunswere the Ambassadours of Pessenus Niger, that he woulde neither helpe the one, or offend the other, but defende and conserue his owne kingdome: moued therevnto, for that Pessenus was his friende, and Seuerus not his enimie.

The kinge of Parthians, presently sente his letters through

throughout his kingdome, commaunding them to repaire vnto Pessenius, and refuse Seuerus: whiche he did not for the narowe friendship that he helde with Pessenius, but for the auncient enimitie that he did beare vnto the Romane Empire. The king of Arthabanes sent vnto Pessenius, ten thousand archers with crossebowes, all natuies of the prouinces of Bersezana, whiche throughout the woylde were much renoumed, and in the warres no lesse feared, because they were of valiant mindes in fight, and exceeding readie in shooting. Further, Pessenius Niger commaunded his armie to be renewed with twentie thousand footemen, and sixe thousand horsemen, whereof the moste parte being taken out of Antioche ( where the people be moste feeble) their names being registred, and receyving paye, neuer afterwardes came to the warres. Vnto all them that vsed this guyple, Seuerus afterwardes gaue great punishment: not for that they had bene traytors vnto Pessenius, but for example to terrifie others. Upon the mount Taurus parte of Cappadocia and Sicyl, Pessenius, as a man of experiance in martiall affaires, provided that the wodes were feld vpon the topes of mountaines, and in streightes, and moste perillous places made strong watche and warde, in such wise, that no enimie might approche, that was not seene: or passe, that were not slaine. In those dayes, there was not in all Thracia a citie more opulent then was Byzantio, nowe named Constantynople, which in buildinges did excede all cities of Asia, and in fertilitie was equall with the best in Europa. Amongest other thinges conteined therein that was faire to beholde, and much to be praised, were the walles, the stones whereof were brought from Mylesius, curiously squared, as if it had bene timber lauen with a sawe: which was the cause that the wall being made of many stones, the whole wall seemed but one stone. Although with the calamities of time, the walles be nowe ruinaed: yet notwithstanding, of the same there remaineth some steppes and signes: in the viewe whereof there is

nones

none but wil praise the witt of them that made it: & curse the handes of them that did subvert it. When Pessenius saue him selfe a Lord so absolute of all Asia, and accompanied with so many & so noble men of warre, he thought him selfe sure of the victorie: but as in such cases, that which Fortune guydeth, is farre differēt from that which the person desireth: so, very cōtrarie to his former purpose it afterwardes succeeded.

## CHAP. VII.

¶ Of the warres that passed betwixt Pessenius and Seuerus in Asia.

IT was great grieve vnto Seuerus, when he vnderstoode howe Pessenius was in so greate redinesse, that thought not onely to defende, but publiquely to offend. Seuerus being certiffid that Pessenius was in possession of y greate citie Byzantio, marched with more spāde, with intent to batter the same, before Pessenius might come to the succour thereof: for that by secrete practises, Seuerus had within the citie newe friendes: and Pessenius in gouernement had recovered some enimies. Neither the intelligences which Seuerus practised secretely, either the diligences whiche he vsed publiquely, might profite him to obteine Byzantio: whiche when he vnderstoode, he trauelled to recover another citie not farre from thence, named Cyzica: whiche was both rockie and compassed with marshes, that is to saye, it stode vpon a rocke, & inuironed with a river. Pessenius had for his capteine generall of all his hostes, a certeine knight named Emilianus, in whome he reposed confidence, not onely for matters of warre, but also for expedition of causes of peace, for that he had bothe wisdome for the one, and fortitude for the other. The capteine Emilianus put him selfe into the citie of Cyzica, whē presently after, the souldiours of Seuerus came to besiege it. There was betwixt both the armies at diuers times,

diuers

divers encounters, & repulses, wherin Fortune indifferently discouered her selfe vnto either partie: for at all times, when they fought at the wall, Seuerus side had the worse: but when they fought in the field, Pessenus bandes had the repulse. Two monethes after the citie of Cizica was besieged, they made a sallie, and as they would haue retayred, Seuerus captoines pursued and entred pelle melle with the capteines of Pessenus: and notwithstanding there was betwixt them greate slaughter for the recovering of a gate, and to fortifie a certeine place: in the ende Pessenus lost the citie, and Seuerus obtained the victorie. Pessenus greatly complained, and so was it bruted amongst the people, which is to weeke, that the capteine Emilianus had secrete practise with Seuerus: for, considering the stately walles wherewith the citie Cizica was compassed, and the valiant people wherewith it was defended: al men iudged it impossible to take it, and follie to besiege it. This cause that moued the capteine Emilianus to do this vnworthie deede, was: that his sonnes, who were left at Rome, Seuerus brought with him into that warre, vnder great garde: and it is to be thought, that to gaine libertie vnto his sonnes which he had engendred, he made a breache of his fidelite and oþre which he had sworne. The Emperour Commodus, as he was suspicous of them, with whome he had to deale: and so euil wished of all such as did serue him: so it was his fashion, for the most parte, when he sent any noble Roman to governe any prouince, presently to place their sonnes in a fort: and this he did, to the end their fathers shold not be traitours, respectinge their children that were kept vnder ward. From the time that Commodus reigned in Rome, Emilianus governed the prouinces in Asia: by which cause Seuerus recovered the children, & Pessenus lost the fater. The same being diuulgated throughout all Asia, that the citie Cizica was sacked, & that Seuerus kept the field with victorie: all Pessenus knyghtes that escaped from thence, & all other their companions that heard therof, gaue them selues to flight; to

to soþe places of fortification wherin to hide their persons. Seuerus not onely reconqured honour & profit of this victorie, but also planted both feare & discorde almoſte throughout all Grecia: for some rebelled against Pessenus, and oþers did obey Seuerus. Although the people of Grecia haue ablenesse to learne science, they are no leſſe inuitable in martial affaires: for in warres whiche they prosequute, they follow not the Prince that hath most iusteſſe, but him that most is fauoured of Fortune. The citizens of Bithynia sent Ambassadours vnto Seuerus, saying, that they & their children were at his commaundement: and on the other side, the people of Nicena gaue Pessenus to vnderſtand, that if he sent his armie thither, they woulde not only receiue them, but also mainteine them: whiche offers they presented not vnto these two Roman princes, for loue or friendship that they did beare them: but for the auncient enimitie whiche they had betwixt them selues. Seuerus wþ his armie entring Bithynia, and Pessenus into Nicena, from thence, as from two fortes, they did issue to fight: & in the end betwixt the two armies vpon a certeine day, they trauerſed so fierce a skirmishe, that in bloud & slaugher it was no leſſe then a battel: where the field remained vnto Seuerus, & Pessenus bands were put to flight. Pessenus neither for the losse of the citie Cizica, neither for that he was beaten out of the field at Bithynia, did shewe either feare or weakenesse: but diuiding his armie that remayned in two partes, he sent the one to mount Taurus to defend that passage from Seuerus, & the other parte he ledde with him selfe vnto Antioche, partly to take money out of his treasurie, & partly to renue, as also reliue his armie. Seuerus marched wþ his armie frþ Bithynia vnto Galatia, & from Galatia vnto Cappadocia, whiche stode in defense on the behalfe of Pessenus, where Seuerus souldiours wþ great furie did assault the same: in which iourney the Seuerians receiued no ſmall losſe, because the citie was ſituate vþd the ſide of an hill, frþ whence to execute slaughter amonſt their enimies, they needed no other defence, but to whirle ſtones. This

The affaires standing in this estate, there chaunced two cities of Phoenicia to revolt from Pessenus, and to yelde them selues unto Seuerus, that is to saye, Laodycia and Tyrus: of which newes Pessenus tooke greate griefe, and no small hatred, which passions conceiued against those cities, he not onely vttered in the soule wordes which he sent to be saide vnto them: but also in the cruel acts which he commaunded to be done vnto them. Pessenus had in his armie fiftene thousand archers, which were called Mauri, people that naturally of their owne inclination were giuen to bloud, and without al feare of death: these, Pessenus commaunded to go vnto Laodycia and Tyrus, vtterly to burne and consume both citie and people: with a warning confirmed by an othe, that if they tooke any prisoners to giue any man life, the person that vsed that pitie should be slaine. These fiftene thousand archers named Mauri departed vnto Laodycia and Tyrus, and manie other that ioyned with them: & as they tooke them at the soudeine being vnprouided, and having no time to demaund succour of Seuerus: so cruell and inhumane was that barbarous people, to those so generous and noble ci- ties, that they left not vpon the walles one stome vpon an other, either house that they subuerted not, either the hed of man woman or childe that they did not cutt off. When these matters passed in Assyria, the knyghtes of Seuerus were in Cappadocia, trauelling greatly to possesse the mount Taurus: but as it was naturally of great heighth, and rockie, & Pessenus possessing all the passages, so they might not by any meane assaile them, or conceiue hope of any profitable or honourable attempt. Upon the top of this mount Taurus, Pessenus his people had brought an huge number of great stones and rockes, to throwe downe vpon Seuerus souldours, if they should attempt to climbe the hill: but as on the side of the mountaine, there grewe many trees, both high and great, which Seuerus souldiers cut downe in great heapes & multitudes to stey the stones before they tumbled vpon men, that might be throwne

In having redy captaines to fight, and skilfull to defende none of the armies had cause to complaine, either of their enimies to haue eme, except that Pessenus was moe vertuous, and Seuerus moe venturous,

## CHAP. VIII.

Of a cruell and furious battell, betwixt Pessenus and Seuerus, wherein Pessenus was slaine.

In certayne broken, worne, and hollowe places, as in suche groundes the waters do vse to make, Pessenus souldiers had fortifid w<sup>th</sup> stones & boughes, whiche serued them to blinde and stoppe the waye for passage, as also from thence veth to defende and offend their enimies. Neither for trauell to climbe the hill, either for feare of death, did Seuerus his captaines ceasse any houre to attempt the recovering of the mounte: but the wayes and passages were so narrowe, and the mountaines so rockie & inacces- sible, that tenne defended an hundred, an hundred a thousand: & a thousand tenne thousand. The case was thus, that the Seuerian armies moe daunted with des- paire, the aduaunced with hope, suddenly on a night there fel vpon those mountaines an exceeding great snow, wher- vpon Pessenus souldours retired from their rampiers, and fortifid rockes: and that whiche was worse, many persons and beastes were there daungered & also lost, and their victualls all caste and carried away. By time that shoulde do the deede, and the sorrowfull destines of Pessenus that shoulde conduct the same: it chaunced vpon the thirde day after the snowe had fallen, the sunne did shine with as hole a glorie as in y<sup>e</sup> heate of summer, wher- with all the snowe being throughtly thawed, the violence of most furious waters that descended the hil, ouerthrew and carried away all bulwarkes and rampiers that Pessenus had made in that mountaine: in such wise, that na-

ture framed in one houre þ Art, might not bring to passe in many dayes: that is to say, the snowe drave away the people, and soone opened the way. When the Seuerian armes founde, that Pessenus souldours had forsaken the mounte Taurus, and þ thawed snowe had opened their way: they not onely recovered greate couraunce, but also presumed to haue obtainede diuine fauour: saying, that Seuerus did gouerne them, but that the Godds did guide them. Upon the fifte day after the snowe, Seuerus souldours mounted vpon þ toppe of Taurus, þ al the snowe beeing thawed and gone, and trackes and wayes beeing drieþ vp, in every place they founde deade men, drowned beastes, broken armour, and virtuallly scattered: in the viewe whereof they tooke no small pleasure, because they had nowe set their feete, where before they imployed but their eyes. Pessenus being aduertised, howe his souldours had forsaken the mounte Taurus, departed with all his hoste from Antioche, þ tooke the way vnto Sicil: the multitude of people that hee ledde with him was marue- lous and terrible to beholde: and yet truly notwithstanding, more fearefull in viewe, then in fight: for admitt- ing they were many, þ younge men well arm'd, yet they were more accustomed to haue peace with vices, then warr w/ enimies. Seuerus w/ his armes, þ Pessenus w/ his hostes incountred in Sicil, not a league one from an other, having betwixt them a greate plaine which was named by the men of the country, the field of Ysico, where was gi- ven the late and most famous battell betwixt Alexander and Darius, in which the great king Darius was ouercōe, and the great Alexander remained monarcke of þ world. In memory of which notable battell, there is situated at these dayes, the renowned citie of Alexandria, wherein there is a picture of brasse, so naturall a counterfeite of Alexander, that to beholde doth partly terrifie, and also giueth motion of great reverence. Two dayes after these princes came to this place, with conformitie they determin- ed to give the battell, since either of þe had ioyned their whole

whole powers, with the presence of their proper persones: vntill which time, betwixt them there was but small dif- ference, for that either of them had greate hope to haue the victorie. The night before they fought, Seuerus & Pessenus were both sadde, and their armes in greate watch: for as the fatall houre of fight dzeþ neare (although their generous hartes gaue them hope to ouercome) their mor- tal bodies did feare to die. At the breake of þ day al the cap- taines made ready to þ battell: continually two houres be- fore the charge, both of the one parte and the other, they played vþo instrumëtes of musick, which w/ their melody did yealde such dolefulnesse, that exctly it discouered the sorrowfull successe that shoulde followe in that cruell bat- tell. The hostes being ioyned the one w/ the other, there was traversed betwixt þe so cruel a sight, þ of every parte so trauelled to obtaine the victory, þ the day ended, þ þ bat- tell not finished. That battell was so bloudie, wounded, & of both partes so much contended, þ within the compasse of two leagues, there was not iii. foote of ground, þ was not couered w/ mans bloude. If the two armes were valiant in fighting, surely þ two princes, their lordes, were no col- ardes: but in the ende, when night was come, the Pessenians turned their backes: & the whole conclusion was, that Pessenus fledde wounded, and Seuerus remained lord of þ field. Upon an horse of greate swiftnesse, & accompanied w/ fewe persons, Pessenus tooke the way vnto Antioche: as the enimies did pursue him, at the doore of a poore cottage where he neither had time to rest, either place to hide him selfe, but groueling vpon his beastes, drinking with a pit- cher, at a blowe his enimies cutte off his head. This was the sorrowfull end of Pessenus Niger, vpon whose sepul- ture they placed this Epitaph: Here lieth Pessenus Niger, an auncient Romane, whiche in merite was equall with the vertuous: but in misfortunes exceeded the most vnfourtunate.

When Seuerus sawe him selfe aduaunced to so great vic- torie, and that in all Asia, there was not one launce

## The life of the

in the Rest against him, he procured to seaze vpon al principall persons, that had escaped from the campe of Pesseni-  
us; and commannded not onely to kill them all, but also to execute them with greate tormentes. Many were founde in the campe of Pessenius, whiche did followe him against their willes, whome also Seuerus commannded to be slaine as the rest: whiche in dede was rather the acte of a cruell tyrante, then a vertuous prince. Seuerus had with him the mother and the sonnes of Pessenius, whome he sente ( both mother and sonnes ) banished vnto an Ilande.

All thinges set in order, that were conueniente for the prouision of the good gouernement of Asia, Seuerus moued talke amongst his moste familiar friendes, for the conquest of the kinge of Parthia, and the kinge of Thebes: not because they helde him as an enimie, but for that they were friendes vnto his enimie Pessenius. Seuerus friendes did counsell him, that by no meanes he shoulde publish any intente of warre againste the kinge of Parthians, or the kinge of Thebanes: for y notwithstanding Pessenius was dead in the East, Albinius was allue in the kingdomes of the Weste: and that hee was not so sure of the Empire, but y it were better counsell for him to seeke newe friends, then to awake olde enimies. Seuerus dealt cruelly with the inhabitants of Antioche, because they had received and obeyed his enimie Pessenius, and with them did not onely vse injurious wordes, but also did discharge them of al their auncient liberties. He slew all the Senatours of Rome, that is to say, such as folowed Pessenius and tooke the name of captaines and Tribunes: & of other persones he slew but one, and woulde never say, whersoze but he alone, and none other was put to death.

## CHAP. IX.

Of the Consul Albinus, and howe he rebelled  
against Seuerus being in Englande.

## Emperour Seuerus 293

Amongst the moste extreme young gentlemen, that were bred in the house of the good Marcus Aurelius, were thze, which in those dayes were placed for captaines in the most famous and daungerous places of the empire, that is to say, Seuerus in Illyria, Pessenius in Asia, & Albinus in greate Britaine. Their Lorde Marcus Aurelius had brought them vp so expert in science, so accustomed to vertues, so readie in armes, so skilfull in perills, and so made vnto trauels, that if they them selues, had not warred & destroyed them selues, al the world had not bene sufficient to haue defeated the. Abone, it is said, howe Seuerus came to Rome to take the Empire, and howe Pessenius was ouercome in Asia: there resteth nowe to speake of Albinus, who was in Britaine: a man in his life righte venturous, and in his deathe no lesse unfortunate. Albinus was native of Rome, and as soone as he was of age sufficient, he was made a Senatour, being of most auncient lineage, and did inherite of his predecessors, greate wealth, whiche he wanted no skill to conserue, as also to increase, and excellently to inioy: for, notwithstanding his degee was but a Senatour: yet in seruice of his house, and behaviour of his person, he was after y manner of an Emperour. In the dayes of the empire of Pertinax, Albinus was sente as captaine and gouernour vnto greate Britaine: in whiche gouernement hee was very well loued, and no lesse feared: for by his greate justice he was feared and with his greate liberalitie he was beloved. When Seuerus departed vnto Asia, to warre with Pessenius, understandinge howe renouned the name of Albinus was throughout all the worlde, and howe well liked of the Romaine Empire: hee greatly doubted to aduaunce him selfe with the Romaine Empire: and the rather, for that he perceived the principall Romanes, to sete their eyes vpon Albinus. Seuerus aduised him selfe to vse a certaine cautele with Albinus, which was: before he departed scō Rome, to write vnto him into Britaine, aduertising him, that he would

T. iii.

haue

haue his fellowship in the Empire, from thence forth instituting him Augustus; & since his departing to the warrs of Asia, requesting him to take the charge of the government of the common wealth. With these and such like wordes whiche hee sente him, and with a letter written vnto him, and certaine iuellis whiche hee gaue him, Albinus did endure to be deceived, though boide of all misstrust to be deceived.

Albinus had with him an auncient knylt named Cypro Albo, who( as it is reported) saide vnto Albinus: thou art not so neare a kinsman, either so deare a friende vnto Seuerus, that without thy request, hee will with thee diuide the Empire: for that truely, euen betwixt the father and the sonne, it were verie muche: but that I thinke hee will nowe be asslured of thee, to the ende when hee returneth from the warres to destroy thee: because from a man so noble as Seuerus is, so amorous letters, and iuellis so precious, may not proceede, but wrapt in malice. Albinus woulde giue no credit vnto Cypro Albo, but openly did reade his letters, and therewd his iuellis: whiche when Seuerus vnderstoode, hee received greate pleasure thereof: and the better to finishe his guile, hee made money in both their names, placing Albinus his picture in the Senate. The minde of Albinus being wonne and obtained, to the ende to holte safe and sure the kingdomes of Europa, hee departed into Asia: and sundry times did write vnto Albinus, and not vnto the Senate: giuing accompt of y which hee had donne, and demaundinge counsell in that whiche hee mente to do.

Fiftene monethes Seuerus stayed in the warres with Pellenius: whome, after hee had ouercome and slaine, hee determined to destroy Albinus: and because hee had no occasion, either greate or small to make him publike warre, hee advised to kill him by guile. Many Senators and noble Romanes did write him letters, and also persuaded Albinus in wordes, that hee shoulde ad-

gaunce

uaunce him selfe with the Empire: and to the same ende, they did swaere and affirme vnto him, that althoughe Seuerus were farre from his countrie, yet without comparsion, hee was muche more distante from their willes. The case was thus, the warres of Asia beeing finished, Seuerus in greate secrecie conferred with certaine Purseuantes by whome hee was accustomed to write letters: whome he commaunded to departe vnto greate Britaine, and to presente their letters openlye vnto Albinus: and further, to giue him to understande, howe they had secretly to say vnto him: and that: if with them hee shoulde separete him selfe, presently to kill him: promising them, that if they perflormed that enterprize, hee shoulde make them the greatest men of Roine. Hee gaue them also a boxe of fine poyslon, & therewd this instruction, that if they might not by chace dispatch & kil Albinus, by such meane: they shoulde trauell in some meate to giue him of that poyslon.

Albinus was grot by what suspicions of Seuerus, partly for that so rarely hee did write vnto him, and also because hee was aduertised, that in secrecie hee vsed euill speach of him: wherefore he liued moze warely, not onely with such as hee had talke, but also of his meats whiche hee shoulde eate. These Purseuantes beeing arriued in greate Britaine, deliuered their letters openly vnto Albinus, saying, that they had to tell him in secret, and being nowe in doubt and suspicion of Seuerus his matters, he commaunded these Purseuantes to be taken, and grieuously tormented: whiche presently confessed, that Seuerus sente them, for none other purpse, but either by pon or with poyslon to take away the life of Albinus.

Presently Seuerus was aduertised, y Albinus had taken, tormented, and put to death his Purseuantes: where vpon followed, that the one did publishe the other open enuyies: and for such they explayned them selues in wordes, deuided in letters, and also vttered in wozies.

Seuerus had greate sorrowe, for that Albinus had manifested him selfe his enimie: and the greater was his griefe, for that his enimies made common reporte, that he would haue slaine Albinus as a cowarde, and not deale with him openly as a man of a valiant minde. Seuerus also had greate griefe, of the generall reporte of Albinus boaste, before all men that wold haue heare the same: of the greate numbers of people and armes of men that did obey him in greate Britaine: and muche more, that did loue and wish him in Rome. Seuerus not able to endure with patience, the reports that ranne of Albinus, aduised to assemble his armes, vnto whome hee did speake after this manner.

## CHAP. X.

Of a famous speach that Seuerus vttered vnto his armes, to bring them in hatred with his enime Albinus.

IT were not iuste, that any prince shoulde be noted vnstable, if by chaunce they be seene to abhorre at one time, that which they did loue at an other time: for that subiects changing their customes, it is not much that Lordes alter their opinions. As much as a friend shalbe vertuous, so muche and no more, he shall be loued of his friendes: for if it be a thing commendable to loue the good, it is no lesse vituperable to loue the euill. Admitting that princes deale hardly with some, and fauour others, neither for the one are they to be praised, either blamed for the other: because reward, or punishment, is neither giuen or ought to be giuen conformable vnto princes wills: but agreeable vnto the subiects merite. Ye all understand, how Albinus

Albinus and I, beeing young men, were bred in the house of the good Emperour Marcus Aurelius: and truly, vnto this day, I haue intreated him, not as a companion, but as a brother: which seemeth no lesse true, for that I parted with him the Empire, which sil dome is diuided betwixt the father and the sonne. I did not onely deale with him as with a brother, and with him did parte the Empire: but also at my iourney vnto the warres of Asia, vnto him onely I recommended the gouernement of the common wealth: respecting the possession which I had of him, and the confidence which I committed vnto him, when I did trust him with the comon wealth: I would haue parted my soule with him, if it had benepartible. Being (as I was) wounded in the warres of Asia, and he placed in the gouernement of great Britaine: notwithstanding the distance that was betwixt them, there passed fewe monethes wherein I did not write vnto him, giuing large accōpt of that which was done, and hiding nothinge of all that I determined to do: In suchē wise, that in him was registred al my triumphs, and he was the hoorde of al my profound secreats. Betwixt me & Albinus, there was neuer any thing y was not common, in my house there was neuer doore shut against him, the letters which he wrote I did with greate ioy reade, that which he requested me I alwayes perfourmed, whereof he warned me I euer corrected: finally, he neuer desired any thing of me, that he obtayned not: and neuer had trauell, but I was present, and prest to succour him. After all these things, his sorrowfull destinies woulde, and no lesse hath my fortune without al felicitie perfourmed, that our friendship is turned to enimitie, our felicitie vnto treason, our benefits

to ingratitudo , our loue vnto hatred, our communi-  
on to diuorce , our confidence to suspicion , in such  
wise , that at this day there is nothing spoken more  
commonly throughout the Romane Empire , but of  
the greate friendship whiche wee haue had , and the  
cruell enimitie whiche nowe we haue . That Albini-  
us desireth to be Lorde, and procureth to be Em-  
perour, I neither wonder, either is it to be marueled: but  
that which maketh me amased, is, that I placing him  
with confidence in gouernement of the common  
wealth, he shuld procure to rise or rebell with Rome:  
that speaking according to the lawe of a good man, y<sup>e</sup>  
if Albinius had thought to attempte so foule a dede, if  
I had requested him to take the charge , he ought  
not to haue cōsented : for there is not the like traitour  
in this world, as he to whom I cōmitted my house, to  
robbe mee of mine honour , and spoile mee of my  
goods. A greater faulke in lesse magistrates hath Albi-  
nius committed the Pessenius Niger: for that Pesseni-  
us from the time that I was elected Emperour , pre-  
sently manifested him selfe mine enimie: & more, y<sup>e</sup> I  
neuer helde him as my friende , either did he accepte  
me as his Lord : and to say that which I had thought  
neuer to haue saide, Pessenius Niger did write vnto  
vs , that if wee would perpetuate the principalitie of  
Asia vnto him , he woulde vtterly yealde vnto vs all  
obedience: and for that we would not graunt it him,  
speaking without passion, although he had no reason  
to rebell, he had occasion to be offended . The matter  
hath not so passed betwixt Albinius and me , but that  
without his owne sute, or any other mannes for him,  
besides the gouernement of Britaine , I gaue him the  
principalitie of al Europe, sent him the ensigne of the  
Empire

Empire , commaunded him by proclamation to be  
intituled Augustus. & y<sup>e</sup> which is not smally to be es-  
timated, I caused with his image & mine, money to be  
grauen , and with mine owne proper handes I placed  
his statuic or picture in the Senate . In repairemente of  
these so notable benefites, he hath committed an hun-  
dred thousand insolences , namely , hee hath muti-  
ned the armes , altered and offended the people, rob-  
bed our treasures , taken our castels , escandalized me  
with the Romanes, and nowe of late hath slaine my  
Purseuaunts: and that whiche grieueth me moste , is ,  
that he made them say in their tormentes, that which  
neuer was in my thought . I hauing slaine the prince  
Pessenius, and beeing (as I was ) triumphant of the  
fielde , no man hath to beleue that I haue so small es-  
timation of my honour , that he beeing my detected  
enimie, shoulde be slaine in secrete at my commaun-  
demente .

In what heart may it be conceiued, that I hauinge  
(as I haue) armes of so greate power and dexteritie,  
here in my presence, shoulde procure to kill him with  
poyson . For to haue slaine Albinius by treason , it  
had beene blame to me , and shame vnto you, but to  
him glory : for as his name is renowned , and his  
fame spread throughout the Empire , his person to  
haue beene so inuincible, that wee durst not giue him  
battell as an enimie , but murther him as tray-  
tors.

The Godds neuer consent, neither my venturous  
destinies permit , that the flaunderous renowne of a  
traytour , whiche hee hath recouered with his e-  
uill life, shoulde cleaue vnto mee by his secrete  
death: for that ( to conclude ) I had rather  
holde

holde him as an enimie all the dayes of my life, then to fixe any scruple in my fame. Albinius did swaere by the simulachre of Diana, not once, but thrice: not with one hande, but with both handes: not in one temple, but in many: for euer more to holde the gods in greate veneration, the people in iustice, the temples in reuerence, and to me obedience: all which the perjured Albinius hath broken, and neither hath feare or shame for that which he hath done: but I hope in the Gods, it shal not come to passe as he thinketh, that is, to die with poyson: but the time shall come, that hee shall pay in the fielde, that which he hath sworne in y temple. If this infamous deede had bene done against any particular person, they should both heare and see throughout the world, the amends that I would take thereof: but in as muche as it toucheth none but my selfe, who at this present am had in suspicion, Albinius being held as innocente, it sufficeth that it is not in me, but to aduertise you thereof: and to you it appertaineth to reuenge the same. In y warres against Pesseniis Niger, ye folowed me: in this against Albinius, I will folow you: and I hope in the immortall Gods, that they wil giue you the victorie: and in my behalfe on Albinius wil take vengeance.

## CHAP.XI.

Howe Seuerus departed from Asia to Fraunce, and fought with Albinius and slewe him.

At

AT the instante that Seuerus had finished his speach, all the army exclaiming with lowde voyces, againe confirming Seuerus in the Empire, manifested Albinius an enimie vnto the Romaine Empire. And for as much as none that was present, vnderstoode the treason that Seuerus had attempted against Albinius, they gaue him credite in all that he saide: & so in generall they conceiued as greate hatred against the one, as loue vnto the other: proceeding no lesse by the presence of Seuerus, then by the absence of Albinius: so (according to the olde yrouerbe) the absent is neuer without blame, nor the present without excuse. When Seuerus sawe that he had wonne y hearts of his armes, hee recovered newe hope to be reuenged of Albinius: and to the purpose he made a generall muster of his men of warre, and founde tenne thousandne horsemen, and xl. thousand fote men: all whiche he presently payde, not onely that whiche he did owe them: but also gaue them many and greate rewardes, adding therevnto many faire promises. The first iourney that Seuerus made, was to besiege Bizantio (so thither the captaines repaired that had escaped the mortall battaile of Pesseniis Niger) and in the ende toke it, not by force, but by hunger: and having the citie vnder his power, he displaced the bulwarkes, made plains the towers, ouerthrew the Theaters, subuerted their bathes, burnt their houses, strangled the straungers, & the natives he did captiuate: finally, he behaued him selfe not as a Romane prince, but as a moste cruel tyrant.

With the riches that hee recovered in Bizantio, and the abundance whiche he robbed in other partes, he commanded the cities to be repaired, that Pesseniis soldiours had lackt: and charged the fortes to be erected that they had throwne downe: and leaning officers necessarie for governement, and men of warre to defende those countries, he departed with greate celeritie vnto greate Britaine, with a determined intente to make furious warres against Albinius.

¶

His desire was so disordinate to encounter with Albinus, that he traueld night and day, thicke and thynne, soule and faire: and that wherefore they most blamed him, was, that he neither obserued the solemnite festiuall dayes, or had compassion of the tyzed. Traueling on those wayes, when it snowed, manie times hee was bare headed: and in the mire, hee woulde trauell one foote: when it rained, hee woulde marche in his doublet and hose: and wanting viciualles, he woulde eate bareley bread: and (as he after reported) to be reuenged of his enimie, he thought it all well employed. Hee sent before him valiant captaines, and men very light & of greate swiftnesse, to cleare the wayes vpon the highte of the mountaines, and to defende the most perilous places: chiefly when he passed the Alpes of Italie, doubting that Albinus might haue in that place some hidden armis. Nowe, when Seuerus sawe him selfe and all his armies in Gallia Transalpina, and that in so longe a tyme hee had incountered with no stumbling diacieif vntill that tyme he went with hope, from thence soorth he marched in certaintie to obtaine victorie: for the feare whiche he had, was, that his armie trauelings both weary and spent, Albinus at the souden might discouer to gaine him battell. In al this tyme Albinus remained in the Isle of Britane, which nowe is Englannde: but presently after hee understood that Seuerus had passed the Alpes, he brought soorth all his armie out of the Isle, & sente them into Fraunce, rather to defende the frontiers, then without any commandement to make warre: because Seuerus was so souden in his arriuall, & he was then in Fraunce, wher they believed him not to be departed from Italie. With great spedde Albinus did write unto the cities adioyning, requesting their helpe for money, and commanding them to be stonge and valiant in his seruice, of whom manie disobeyed, and other rebelled against him: notwithstanding, they all confessed, that they rather did it for feare of the potencie of Seuerus, then for the hatred whiche they did beare unto Albinus. But in the ende,

the

the two armies beeing ioyned, and all the cities diuided into parcialties, eury day betwixt them there was counters, and daily meetings to skirmishe: and for the moste parte, the soldiours of Seuerus departed with broken heade, and Albinus his bandes returned victoriou.

They traversed on a certaine day so furious a skirmish, that it was necessarie Seuerus shoulde come soorth armed vnto the same: and as hee was not able to make his soldiours to retire, neither constraine his enimies to flee, thinking to enter to haue parted the fray, hee was vrged to fight in his owne person: in whiche fight he received so greate a blowe with a plummette of leade, that hee was feld downe to the grotunde, and lay for deade so longe space, that many did kisse the handes of his sonne Geta, as Emperour. After Seuerus had escaped that daunger, and was cured of his wounde, in greate secrecie he called into his presence certayne Sorcerers and Inchanters that hee brought with him, both requesting, threatening, and promising them manie thinges, if they woulde tell him the ende of those warres: for if hee shoulde be conquerour, hee woulde prosecute the same; and if hee shoulde be ouercome, he woulde returne into Italie. The Sorcerers and Inchaunters answered, that his armie shoulde receive greate hurte, but in the ende his enimie Albinus shoulde be ouercome: and that hee shoulde not obtaine in this case, that whiche he desired, that is to say, to kill Albinus with his owne handes: but that hee shoulde sicke him deade before his eyes. The tenth of March, Seuerus received this answere of his Inchaunters, and presently on the next day, he tolke muster of all his men, commandinge them to shooe their hose, and amend their armour: and the third day hee gaue battell unto Albinus, neare to a citie named Lugduno, whiche nowe in Fraunce is calld Lions Sonarona, whiche on bothe sides was so extremely contended, that a greate parte of the day it might not be knowne, vnto whome the victorie woulde incline.

When

When al the day was passed, and darke within night, the one army fighting with the other, in the ende Albinius was overcome. This battaile was so bloudie, that of so greate a number of people, as both the hostes did con- feine, there escaped not a man, that was not slaine in the field, or returned vnto his tente vnwounded. Albinius remained to keepe the citie, and sent his capteines to gaine battaile, who beeing beaten out of the field, the Seuerians entred into the citie, spoylng goodes, burning houses, and slaying people. Seuerus had a captaine named Letus, whiche was the cause of the conquest of that battell: for y Seuerus his souldiours beeing in a manner overcome, and Seuerus ready and prest to fye, he relieuued the battell with a fresh bande of souldiours: Letus of skill and industrie woulde not fight that day, vntil he sawe Seuerus fledge, and also fall from his horse: thinking, that if Seuerus shoulde die or be slaine, and hee overcomminge and conquering the battell, to aduantage him selfe with the Romaine Empire. Seuerus was not ignorant of the god seruice whiche his captaine had done him at that instant, either did he hide the intente wherewith he performede the same: for whiche cause the warres beeing finished, he commaunded his heade to be cut off: not for that whiche hee did, but for that whiche he woulde haue done.

When the Seuerians destroyed the citie of Lugduno, amongst the reste they slew the sorrowfull Albinius, who so slaine they brought vnto Seuerus, commaunding to cutte off his heade, and to dismember and mangle his bodie all to pieces: whiche beeing done, he riding vpon a rough horse, all to trampled the body of Albinius, whiche was hackett and hewed to manocks. All men that behelde Seuerus vse so greate inhumanitie with the body of Albinius, wepte: and all men that hearde the reporte thereof, were scandalized; and not without greate reason, for The office of a prince of moste perfect pietie, is, to pardon the liuinge, and to bury the deade.

Seuerus

Seuerus treading and trampling the bodie of Albinius (after the maner of a fierce Lion) his horse grewe fearefull, and gaue him so shewde a fall against the grounde, that he remained a great space astonned and in dismay, in such wise, that he missed verie narrowly, presently to haue paide with life, so enorme an iniurie. These matters being finished, Seuerus dispatched his Pursevaunts into all partes, with the newes of this victorie: and the head of Albinius vnto Rome, and his bodie, as it was all to pieces trodden, trampled and drawen, he commaunded to be throwen into the riuier Rhodanus, to the ende that as he had taken away his life, so by no meanes any memorie shoulde remaine of Albinius.

## CHAP. XII.

Howe after the death of Albinius, Seuerus returned to Rome, and there slew many.

Seuerus not satisfied with slaying his entnie Albinius, treading his bodie vnder his horse feete, casting the pieces thereof into the riuier Rhodanus, and sending his head vnto Rome to be set in the pillozie: but commaunded serch to be made for the bodies of all the noble Romans, which had beene slaine in the seruice of Albinius: and for that he might not chastice them in time of their life, he aduised to vituperate and desile them after their death, causing their bodies to be drawen, cut in pieces, and burnte: some throwen into riuers, to the ende they shoulde never more appeare: and othersome vnto beastes to be devoured. In all cities that received, obeyed, or succoured Albinius or his souldiours, Seuerus did greate hurt, robbing their goods, and punishing their persons. Manie cities and people made their excuse, saying, they had not serued or followed Albinius, for that they had a desire so to do: but because they were not succoured of Seuerus, and yet ceased

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not

not to chassice and robbe them. Albinius had threé sonnes, a daughter, and a wife, generous in bloud and beautifull of face, whose throte with his children he commaunded to be cutt, and their bodies also to be cast into the riuver Rhodanus. And as Albinius was of greate power in all the Empire of Europe, and of him self verie grations, liberal, valiant, and noble minded: so in a manner all the nobles of Spaine and Fraunce, had followed his parte alike: the throttes of all which, Seuerus (after the battaile) commaunded to be cutt: and though he slewe the fathers, yet he did not therefore pardon the wife and children. Albinius his wife and his children being slaine, and execution done vpon all persons that followed his opinion: Seuerus aplyed all their gods and riches, for his owne chamber, which were so great, and of such value, that it was doubted whether any Emperour had ever attained unto the like. The prouinces of Spaine and Fraunce being ordered, and two gouernours placed in greate Britaine, Seuerus departed vnto Rome, and led with him all his armie: not for that, in all Italic he had any enimie bent against him, but to terrifie the common wealth of Rome. Seuerus of his owne naturall inclination was so quarelous, proude, vnquiet, bloudie, and doubtfull, that although he had peace, yet he woulde goe alwayes after the fashion of a warriour. Seuerus was receiued with greate ioye of the Romanes, although most certeinly many of them stode in greate feare, for that they had wished that Albinius might haue preuailed, whereof Seuerus had certeine intelligence; whose condition was so harde, that to giue a cruell chassicement, a small occasion was sufficient. After that he had visited the great temple of Jupiter, he divided amongst the capteines that followed in the warres, many iewels and greate riches: and further, gaue them certeine libertes, which is to weete, that they might wear rings of golde vpon their fingers, and entertaine Courtisans within their houses. It was no small grieve unto the Romanes, that Seuerus had giuen such liberties vnto his men of warre; saying, that from thenceforth for euer to weare

weare ringes of golde, they woulde spende their owne, & roble others: and to vse concubines in their houses, would cause dissention amogest the people, and also debilitate their persons. In Rome there was a Consul named Claudius, which had his picture placed in the Senate, & was praised before all the people with a publique Oration for his worthie actes done in Asia: whereof Seuerus tooke greate despight, because this Claudius was kinsman vnto Albinius. Seuerus did not knowe how to be reuenged of the Senate, but publiquely by proclamation, commaunded (upon paine of death) that al men shoulde call Commodus a God: for confirmation whereof, he did not only place his picture in the Senate, to the end they shoulde reverence him, but also in the temples to be adored. To commaund the Romanes to adore & reverence Commodus, as one of the Gods, being (as he was) the wort of all men, it was vnto them so grieuous to heare, & so harde to perfourme, y they determined, not to go to the church, either to offer sacrifice vnto their Gods: because no parte thereof shoulde be allotted vnto the God Commodus. Seuerus vpon a daye went vnto the Senate, & made there a long and truculent Oration, wherin, after he had spoken many threateninge & malicious words, he commaunded certeine letters to be read, which he found amongst Albinius writinges, made by many Consuls, Senatours, & other gentlemen amongst y people, vnto Albinius, offering him their persons, sending their gods, & that he should not be dismaid in those warrs: for that in the common wealth he was much desired. The reading of these letters being ended, he commaunded them presently to be torne: & for the time did dissemble the matter, or to say better, did deserre the chassicement: for y afterwardes, as well of such as were absent, as of them y were present, he tooke so great reuengement, y as y streets were bathed in bloud, y fields filled w carcases, y wayes scatterred with quarters, & the pillowies beset with heades: they saide in Rome, y Silla was reuived, & Nero was not dead. Seuerus made a memoiall of all the riche men, valiant, &

“ of power, that were in all the Empire: the greater parte  
 “ whereof he charged to haue bēne the seruautes, friends  
 “ or fauourers of Iulianus, of Niger, or else of Albinius, his  
 “ mortall enimies: for which cause, of free men, he made  
 “ them slaues: of lordes, seruautes: of riche, pore; and  
 “ also of lving, dead men: in such wise, that he slewe ma-  
 “ ny, not for offences which they had committed, but to rob  
 “ them of their goods, which they had gathered togeather.  
 “ Seuerus slewe some, with some reason, & others vpon smal  
 “ occasion: but all these which followe, he killed without all  
 “ reason or occasion: that is to say, Munius, Sellius, Claudi-  
 “ us, Bitalius, Papianius, Elius, Julius, Lolius, Aurelius,  
 “ Antoninus, Posthumius, Sergius, Fabius, Nenius, A-  
 “ musius, Casperius, Seyonius, Sulpitianus, Coceyus,  
 “ Eructus, Asilonius, Claudius, Honoratus, Petronius,  
 “ Pessenius, Cestus, Aurelianuſ, Materius, Iulianus, Albi-  
 “ nius, Cerelius, Faustinianus, Herenius, Valerius, Nobis-  
 “ us, Arabianus, Marcus, Fabatus. These men were  
 “ glorioſus, both of bloud & also for noble deedes & riches: for  
 “ they were either Consuls, Censoris, Pretors, Senatours,  
 “ Ediles, Tribunes, or capteines: whose goods he implored  
 “ not vnto the publique treasurie, but did incorpoſate vnto  
 “ his patrimonie, for him ſelue to inioy the dayes of his own  
 “ life, & to leauie vnto his chilzen after his death. Seuerus  
 “ defamed Cincius an auncient Consul, affirming, that he  
 “ had procured poſon to kill him, wherfore he commaunded  
 “ him to be ſlaine: but the trueth being knownen as Seuerus  
 “ afterward reported, but y Cincius did much delight to goe  
 “ on hunting, & had a fine yearke to kill the Boze & other be-  
 “ nerie in the mountaines. He commaunded also Narcissus  
 “ to be caſt vnto y Lyons, who at the request of Martia cho-  
 “ ked Commodus: it was nothing to commaund them to be  
 “ ſlaine, but y with his owne eyes he would behold them ex-  
 “ ecuted, which was wont to be ſo ſtrange vnto Romaine  
 “ princes, that they never uſed to ſee any person put to deſth,  
 “ neither ſo much as in the citie to be resident: but they uſed,  
 “ if any ſuffered, to ride or go forth on hunting.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XIII.

¶ Howe Seuerus returned into Asia, and con-  
 quered many prouinces.

After that Seuerus had conquered and ſlaine thre Em-  
 perours, that is to ſay, Iulianus in Rome, Niger in  
 Asia, and Albinius in Fraunce: it ſeemed vnto him, that  
 ſince he had chafficed and triumphed ouer the Romans, he  
 ought alſo to make his name glorioſus amongſt the Bar-  
 barians: because all the warres that he helde vnto that  
 daye, were more to make him ſelue Lord of the common  
 wealth, then to magnifie his name. Seuerus aduised him  
 ſelue to go in his owne person to make warres with the  
 Parthians, the occaſion of which enterprize was: for that  
 the king of Atrenoes had fauoured y parcialitie of Niger,  
 but had deferred the reuengement thereof, to make con-  
 queſt of Albinius being in great Britaine. If Seuerus in this  
 caſe had taken the opinion of the people, either the coun-  
 ſell of the ſenate, he woulde neither haue taken those  
 warres in hande, or made account of the iniurie: because  
 at that time, thole kingdomes were neither friendes or  
 foes with Rome. And as the Romans were fatigued &  
 tyred with warres, ſo they were contented (for the time)  
 to ceaſe the recovering of them for their vassals, to obtein  
 them for quiet enimies. Seuerus departed vnto Asia, and  
 in the way would firſt take the kingdome of y higher Arme-  
 nia, whereof the king of Armenia being aduertised, and  
 that he came with an armie of ſo greate power, and ſo de-  
 termined to take his kingdome, met him vpon the way,  
 not armed as a man of warre, but clad with the gar-  
 ments of peace: his truce being ſet downe with Seuerus,  
 preſently he gaue him much money, and offered to ſende  
 him ſuccour: for the accomplishment wherof, he deliuered  
 vnto Seuerus his two ſonnes in pledge: Seuerus did not  
 onely conſirme him in his kingdome, but alſo tooke him

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vnder

under his protection. The affaires of Armenia being dispached, Seuerus departed towardes the kingdom of Hosdroenos, whose king was named Anguaro, bothe crooked and lame, but yet no sole: for he had such skill to recover the god will of Seuerus, that he neither admitted him as a vassall, tolke no money, demanded no hostages, or did his countre hurt, but received him to his familiar friendship, and made him a confederate with the people of Rome. Having passed the kingdome of Hosdroenos, Seuerus entred the landes and countries of Albanos, and being then the moneth of Appil, and spring time, he founde the fieldes full of flowers and grasse, and commaunded his horsees for the space of fifteen dayes to be fedde, and his armie to be recreated and refreshed: because his horsees were growen leane, and his men tyred. Seuerus beeing de parted from the fieldes of Albanos, entred the countrie of Arabia Felix, where they found that, which they found not in all the kingdomes of the worlde: namely, the trees that bare the precious Aromatike spices, and the boughes whereof they gathered the most fine and excellent baulme. Seuerus sacked all the townes of Arabia Felix, cut downe their fieldes, spoyled and oppressed all people, and as he afterwardes saide, he woulde not haue entred therein: for that being (as it was) so riche, so ioyfull, pleasant, and delectable: but because he found him selfe in greate cumber, to withdrawe his souldours from thence: for that they felte them selues more delighted with the vices of Arabia, then with the hazarde and daungers of the warres. Having passed the delectable countrie of Arabia Felix, Seuerus entred the countrie and kingdom of Athrabanos, against whose king principally he made that iourney. Athras was a great citie, situated vpon the top of a molt high hill, and chieflie citie of all the kingdome: and for that cause was named the kingdome of Athrabanos. Seuerus went presently to the siege therof: but as the king had inclosed him selfe therein, with great readinesse and prouision, the wall being strong, the citie rockye, the people warre

warrelike, and furnished with munition and victuals: small was the hurtte that Seuerus did vnto them within, but whiche the Romans received was very greate. And as Seuerus gaue forth no other bynte, when he came from Rome, but to be reuenged of the Athrabanos, he perswained that warre so exactly, that there was no daye but he battered the citie of Athras, and occupied his warlike engins, devised and practised all manner fightes and offences, that might be against the enimie, and the moche notisched Romans, that there did not notisfe them selues: but in the ende, might neither take the same, either as much as a capteine, or overthrow one windewe. Whiche that were besieged within that citie, to test with their enimies, tyed very subtily, little earthen pottes, vnto a kinde of byppes like unto Crowes, which flying ouer the armies of Seuerus, let fall their pottes vpon their pates: by whiche test many had their heades broken: but much more were the Romans despighted, to consider howe little they did esteeme them, not fighting with them in armour, but with pottes, and tankardes. The axre of that mountaine was verie subtile, the waters verie thinne, frutes in great abundance, and the sunne verie hot, and the grounde somewhat moyst: by whiche occasion Seuerus his whole campe fell into the disease of the flue, and there died amongest the rest seuen notable capteines, two of Seuerus cousins, and a little bastarde sonne, which all men like wise thought to be his cousin: but by his greate sorow & teares, he discouered the childe to be of his owne proper fleshe.

Seuerus considering the citie of Athras to be incyngnable, the people therein invincible, and his campe also weakened through greate sicknesse, aduised to rayse his siege, before his armie were utterly lost, which he did, not without greate griefe, and no lesse despight, being as he was, given vnto so many triumphes, and victories, he thought him self vanquished, since he wight not overcome: but sorteine y naturally discouereth her self to be variable,

the victorie which shē denied Seuerus in fighting , shē in his fighē gaue afterwardes more largely. The case was thus: that sailing on the Sea with all his armie , it was his chaunce to encounter with a tempest , and being forced to followe the disposition of the weather , and not as his heart desired, they brought him to riuers of the kingdome of Parthia, not thre leagues distant from the greats citie of Tesiphont , where the king was further entred into feasting, then compassed with armour . Seuerus entred into the fieldē of Tesiphont , committing so greate spoiles and robberies, that he put the people into greate feare, which as Seuerus did take at the loudeine and unwares, and being amazed , neither able to saye or answere , if they were demaunded: for that to sye they had no time, and to resist they had no force: & that whiche was worst of all, to make agreement, it was not in their handes: neither might they endure to submitt themselves vnto the Romans . Seuerus arruynge at Tesiphont did subuert it vnto the ground, slew al that made resistance, and did captiuate man, woman, and childe: he tolke al the treasure and riches, bothe of the citie and royall palace: finally all the countre, treasure , gods and persons came to the handes of Seuerus, except the king Arthabanus, who escaped on horsebacke. Seuerus led with him certeine skilfull painkers , which as he went trauelling , they went drawing and painting, all cities, castels, riuers, mountaines, nations, kingdomes, and prouinces, by & throughe whiche he passed: and all the battels and victorizies whiche he had made and obteined . Seuerus sent a greate Ambassage vnto the Senat and people of Rome , with whome he sent many captiues, much riches, and the tables wherin his victorizies were set out at large : the Romans gaue greate thankes vnto the Gods, and also greate praises vnto Seuerus: although mosle true, that all men were pleased with the victorizies, but would not , that they shoulde haue beene obteined by Seuerus . Departing from the kingdome of Parthia, he diuided amonȝt his armies all that

that he had taken from the Parthians ; and for himselfe served nothing but that which he sent vnto the Senat, and a ring of Vnicorne, a white parat or popingay, and a green horse: the whiche thinges he tolke not for their value, but for the straungnes of their colours. Seuerus came throught the kingdome of Palestina , and gaue them many lawes conformable vnto the lawes of the Romanes: commaunding vpon paine of death , that none shoulde name himselfe a Jew , either call himselfe a Christian, or obserue the lawe of Christians . From Palestina he came throught Alyria, vnto the citie of Alexandria, where also he placed newe customes, and also made newe lawes , which he caused them to write and obserue: howbeit, they endurev but the lise of Seuerus : for after his death , they did not onely breake them, but also burnt the tables wherin they were written.

## CHAP. XIII.

¶ Of Seuerus his sonnes, and of their cuill inclination.

The kinges that were enimies being overcome, newe confederacion made with old friends, and all the prouinces of Asia reformed, he came vnto Rome, and as the Romans had prepared the Parthicke triumph , he might not enter triumphing: for that he came so weake of a quartane, and so lame of the goute, that he might neither indure the chariott, or suffer the entertainement of the people . It had chaunced to none of y Roman Empire, as it fortuned vnto Seuerus, that is to say, that had slaine so many princes, & obteyned so many victories, and yet never entered triumphing into Rome: whiche was not for his demerits, or repugnancie of the Romanes: but for his thre first victories he might not triumphe , because they were Romane prouinces, and to his other victories of Asia his disease gaue impediment.

Seuerus had two legitimate sonnes, y elder was named

Bassianus, the other Geta, who notwithstanding they were brothers in blood, yet were they much different in conditions, which infirmitie was not onely manifested in their infancie: for that in their childish playes they could never agree, either in weightie affaires yelde one consent. It was much noted amongest the Romanes, that y two bretherne being but children, might never agree in their childishe playes and venisces, that is to say, in making houses of clay, running at base, dyring topps, meating strawes, trilling the bowle, striking the drumme, and other such like childishe trifles. That the one delighted, the other lothed: that which the elder affirmed, the younger denied: and if it happeued their tutores to command them to play together, if the one did winne, and the other lose, they fare their haire, scratched their faces, whirled stones, strucke with their fistes, in such wile, that as from their teeth and face they drie blow, and rent off their lockes, so they seemed rather to kill eche other as enimies, then to iest as bretherne.

It was no small griece unto Seuerus, when hee understood of the evill condicton of his sonnes, and that alwayes they were diuided amongst themselves, who travellled (by al meanes possible) to bring them to consernitie, which he might never (by any meanes) bring to passe, althoughe he requested: either would they obey, although hee commaunded: for his sonnes were so wilfull, that they ceased not to execute their owne wills, notwithstanding their fathers gentle lute, or his extreame comandement. Seuerus also had a brother named Geta, a person of great boldenesse, and warlike, who in all warres followed Seuerus, and if Seuerus had hauie thoughts, truly Geta his thoughts were not humble: for hee helde it so most certaine, that unto him Seuerus shold leane the Empire. Besides that Geta was valiant and warlike, so was he also guilefull and diligent, that is to say, in seruynge Seuerus, contenting the Senate, and pleasing the people.

The

The hatred and brabbling that passed betwixle Bassianus and Geta his cousins, vsually hee reported it unto all men, in such wyse, that Geta supposed to obtaine by grise the Empire, that Seuerus had gotten with armes. Seuerus well vnderstoode, howe Geta wente thus angiege for the Empire, and therein to take awaie all occasions, in the fourth yeare of his Empire, going against Albinius, at that time in the citie of Millaine, before hee passed the Alpes, hee created his elder sonne Cesar, and his younger Consul: whereupon a certaine Capitaine said unto Seuerus: it well seemeth Seuerus, thou remembrest not the displeasures that Bassianus and Geta thy sonnes have done thesse, either the seruice which thy brother Geta hath performed on thy behalfe.

To this Seuerus aunswere, it well appeareth that thou speakest by hearesaye, rather then by anye experience whiche thou hast in this case: for, as thou haste no brothers, either hast beene married to haue any children, no more knowest thou, what difference of loue is betwixle the one and the other: For I gaine to understande, that without all comparison, wee fathers doe more loue the thwartes of our children, then the seruice of our bretherne.

The elder brother whiche was named Bassianus, changed his name, and commaunded all men to call him Antoninus Aurelius, in the memorie of Antoninus Pius, and of Marcus Aurelius: because these Princes were verye glorious in their liues, and in their Common wealthes no lesse beloved.

When Seuerus returned from the warres of Parthia, his sonnes Bassianus and Geta were then men: and for that hee vnderstoode that the Romanes were thereof then very doubtfull, hee requested his sonnes, that notwithstanding the variaunce betwixle themselves, they woulde bee in peace wyth the people: but herewith mighte hee not tame the condition of the young men, either persuade them to be in friendshipe with the Romanes: for as much as hee

as he soldered with his god woords, so much did they escā-  
valize with their lewd workes. Seuerus finding himselfe  
infected with infirmities, compassed with enimies, and his  
sonnes so euill inclined, was alwayes sad, pensiue, melan-  
cholie, and (in a manner) in despaire: not onely doubting,  
they would diminish the estate wherein he left them, but  
also lose the honour which they did inherite. Seuerus consi-  
dering the daily complaints made of his sonnes in the Se-  
nate, and the continual displeasures which they gaue him,  
advised to banishe them the vices and pleasures of Rome:  
the one hee sent into Germanie, the other into Panonia:  
but if they were euill in his presence, they were much  
worse in his absence: for that aforerime, by their subiecti-  
on, they abstained from some vices, but afterwards with  
libertie they committed all mischiefe. The parents that  
with their owne hands, and in their owne houses, may not  
frame vertue in their children, will hardly attein it at the  
hands of others; for that vertue is not obteyned in seeking  
straunge countries, but in the amendment of old errours.

## C H A P. X V.

¶ Of a sauoured seruaunt of Seuerus  
named Plautianus.

In the dayes of the Empire of the god Marcus Aureli-  
us, there came from Africa vnto Rome, a gentlemā na-  
med Plautianus, pore, blind in sight, craftie and subtile in  
condition: and being (as hee was) mutinous and quarel-  
ling, and wheresoeuer he went, moving some debate, Mar-  
cus Aurelius commannded him to be banished Rome: for  
he was a prince of such patience, that he suffered not in his  
common wealth a man that was vitious, or any young mā  
that was quarellous. Plautianus being banished Rome,  
departed vnto the garrisons of Illyria: and from thence al-  
so being caste as a seditious person, repaired at last, into  
the company of Seuerus, of whome he was very well han-  
dled,

dled, and also honoured, and in all thinges placed aboue all  
men: some said that it was done of Seuerus, for that he  
was of his countrie: some for kindzed, and some durst say  
that hee serued not onely for martiall assayres, but also to  
do him seruice in the chamber. After that Seuerus came  
to be Emperour, he gaue so great credite vnto Plautianus,  
and so striktly did follow his counsell, that he neither read  
letter, but hee did see it, or signed commission that hee liked  
not, either gaue any reward that he craved not. In the  
Senate, he was placed in the most honourable seate: when  
he came forth into Rome, all the Gentlemen did accompa-  
nie him: when he came out of his house, all Embassadours  
did attend on him: in time of warre, all captaines sued vnto  
him: if there were playes and pastimes, they were al-  
wayes representes before his palace: if they had to giue or  
receive any money, all did passe through his hands: in such  
wise, that it was never seene in Rome, that any man with-  
out the title of an Emperour, enjoyed so great portion of þ  
Empire. Plautianus naturally was proud, ambitious, co-  
uetous, and cruell: and the moze to shewe his fiercenesse,  
crueltie, & magnificence, he alwayes had a drawne sword  
borne before him: and when he passed through the streets,  
hee would that none should dare to behold him in the face,  
but cast downe their eyes to the ground: and when hee  
travelled vpon the way, he had alwayes one that went be-  
fore, to giue warning to all persons to giue way, where he  
should passe: in such wise, that hee neither would behold  
straungers, either be seene of the countrie natives.

Seuerus gaue in reward vnto Plautianus, the gods of al  
persons that were condemned and confiscate in the Em-  
pire: and as hee was of a greedie and covetous nature, so  
they were infinite that he caused to be slaine in þ Empire:  
not because they had so deserued, but for their gods which  
they possessed.

The elder sonne of Seuerus named Bassian<sup>o</sup>, being come  
to ripe vnderstanding, and perceiving how al things went,  
was greatly greeued, to se Plautianus haue so great power

in the gouernement of the common wealth: and Plautianus presently finding y hatred of Bassianus, practised with Seuerus that Bassianus shoulde marrie with his only daughter: and incōtinently, the elder sonne of Seuerus was married unto the daughter of Plautianus. Plautianus beholding himselfe not onely the alone sauoured, but also fater in lawe with Seuerus, it seemed unto him but a tride to be Lord of the whole wozld: and most truly, Plautianus in heaping honour vpon honour, and estate vpon estate, bredd his owne destruction: for that men neuer surfeit to eate that which is necessarie, but in eating and drinking more then the stomache will beare. Though Plautianus daughter was very faire, of god condition, and brought with her a most rich dowrie, yet did her husband Bassianus most cruelly hate her: which he discouered both in wozld and dēde, assyning her to be the daughter of a base and vile person, and that hee would one day kill both her and her fater: and yet not therewithall satisfied, they did neither sleepe in one chamber, or dine at one table. Bassianus answeread certaine Romanes that requested him to bee friend with his wife, and to honour his fater in lawe: I give you Romanes to understand, that I did not marrie, but my fater did marrie mee, which I would not haue done if he had cōmaunded me, but to desloure the daughter, and enjoy the treasure of her fater: and since it is done, let her seeke an husband, for I will seeke a wife. Plautianus vnderstanding what his sonne Bassianus had said, and that his daughter was not married, but dishonoured, that Seuerus was old & sicke, and that Bassianus held him not as a fater in lawe, but as an enimie, determined to reuenge that iniurie: either els to lose both life and honour in the enterpise.

Bassianus informed his fater Seuerus, of many tyranies whch Plautianus committed in the common wealth, and Plautianus also complained howe evill hee vsed his daughter: and thus they went on cōfirming their enimitie, and giving every day new passions & tedious complaints vnto Seuerus: but in the end, hee gaue care vnto the complaints

plaints of Plautianus, as vnto a seruaunt; but vnto Bassianus, as vnto a sonne. Seuerus considering the continuall displeasure giuen him by Plautianus, the tyzannies hee executed in the Empire, the enimitie betwixt him and Bassianus, and that also with his great fauour he esteemed him little, conceiued that some day he might rise wch the Empire: wherefore, from thenceforth hee neither shewed him god countenaunce, either gaue him so great authozitie in the common wealth.

Plautianus did well perceiue, that he had not onely Bassianus vnto his enimie, but also stode in disgrace of Seuerus: and thought with himselfe, that to escape best cheape, either they would take away his life, or cast him out of fauour: and to deliuer himselfe of so great an infamie, he determined to kill them, to quite himselfe.

## CHAP. XVI.

¶ Of a certaine treason that Plautianus had ordeined against Seuerus, and how it was discovered.

The order that Plautianus vsed, or to say better, the disorder that he practised to kill Seuerus and Bassianus, proceeded as from a passioned tyraunt, and not as a man aduised: and so it afterwards redounded to his losse and destruction. The case was thus, there was in Rome a Tribune named Saturninus, native of Assyria, who was the greatest friend that Plautianus had, with whome hee did most communicate, to whom he did most commend his secretes, and also for whom he did most pleasure. Plautianus sending for this Saturninus an houre within night, and inclosing themselves within a chamber, said in great secretes these wordes following.

Plautianus

The life of the  
*Plautianus his Oration*  
 to Saturninus.

Saturninus, thou knowest how great loue I haue borne thee, and how many good deeds I haue done to thee, & thy house: wherof there needeth no other token, but the beholding of thee so highly aduaanced in the Court, & so accepted in my seruice, many with me be offended, & at thee al men haue euuie. Friends, parents, acquaintance, recommended, and seruaunts, I had for whome to haue done: vnto some of whom I was much beholding, & of others I was to haue considered for seruice: all these notwithstanding, on thee only I fixed mine eyes, to magnifie thee: and in thee I employed my hart to loue thee. I sent now for thee, to recompt vnto thee my trauels and sorrowes, to the end thou shouldest helpe to deliuer mee from them: and herein thou shalt perceiue, the affectionate loue which I beare thee, in that I repose my confidence in thee, wherein I would not trust mine owne proper sonne: for sonnes thincke not, but howe to inherite their fathers goods, but verie friendes haue care to deliuer their friendes from griefe and sorrowe. Thou well knowest, Saturninus, what great seruice I haue done to Seuerus, and since my youth haue followed him in the warres. I say, I serued him so young, that I alone am his most auncient seruaunt: although I bee now the most forgotten and abhorred. Setting a part all seruices which I haue done for him, and all great daungers that I haue passed to deliuer him from perill, I haue borne so tender affection vnto my Lord Seuerus, that I leſt to like him as a man, and did adore him

him as a God: and that this is true, it appeareth most cleare, in that I gaue my daughter vnto his sonne Bassianus, and my selfe to be his perpetuall slave. After I spent my youth in his seruice, & followed the father throught hōut the world, his sonne Bassianus nourished in my armes from his infancie, I did yeld him my gods, I gaue him my onely daughter, I gouerned his common wealth in peace, of his euill life I framed in al men an opinion of great yettue, his cruelties and tyraunic I made all men helpe to be zeale of justice: in such wise, that they never committed vyle cheue, that I soldered not: either at any time commaunded any difficult matter, that I accomplished not. The matter is thus come to passe, the Gods permitting, or my sorrowfull destinies: procuring, I am fallen into so great hatred of Saturninus, and into cruel contempt and ellimic with Bassianus, than in recompence of al my seruice whiche I haue done thereth all the dayes of my life, they are nowe determined to take away my life. Thou seest now, Saturninus, whether it be reason that I endure this same, wylberginto if I shold gite place, I shold perish, my house shold be loft, the gods vnserued, the whole Empire scandalized: and therefore it is conuenient, that I execute on them, that which they would execute vpon mee: for that it is more consonant vnto reason, that the euill be corrected of y good, then that the vertuous shold come vnder the power of the wicked. Behold Saturninus, what affection I beare thee, that haue layd vp in thy breast so great a secrete, this terrible deede I will put into thy handes: therefore presently thou must depart vnto the Court, and go into his chamber, where Seuerus sleepeth, and cut off his head: & from Bassianus his sonne also thou

shalt take away his life. Thou shalt say vnto y guard, at Court, that euen nowe theré came vnto mee a poste out of Asia, and art sent by mee, to giue Seuerus intelligence thereof, and goest at such an houre, for that daunger deperideth thereon. And since thou hast not beeine abashed to heare it, be not terrifid to performe it: for that I sweare vnto thee by the immortal gods, that after Seuerus is dead, and I in the possession of the Empire, conformable vnto the great perill wherein nowe thou doest aduenture thy selfe, shall be thy rewards that then thou shalt receiue.

These and such other thinges Plautianus said vnto Saturninus: who aunswereid, that hee was readie to do his commandement, vpon condition, that hee would giue him in writing, in what manner he would haue him to kill Seuerus, and Bassianus his sonne: which he desired to this end, that if in time he should forget the recompence of so great a seruice, he might shewe him that writing, both to remeber the seruice past, as also the reward unperformed. Plautianus doubted not to giue, Saturninus a writing signé with his owne hand, wherein hee commaunded to kill Seuerus, and Bassianus his eldest sonne: the contents of the writing was thus.

*F*Plautianus do request as a friend, and commaund as a Censor, that thou Saturninus Tribunc, do kill the Emperour Seuerus, and Bassianus his elder sonne: and for the same I promise thee, and by the immortall Gods sweare vnto thee, that as thou art onely in perill, so to make thee singular in the Empire.

Saturninus, as a man skilfull and subtle, for more assayunce vnto Plautianus, vpon his knees kist his hand, as though alreadie he had beene sure of the Empire: and then being in y darke of the night, he departeth vnto the Court,

the

The guard presently giuing place, and the chamberlaines in like maner: who placing himselfe directly before Seuerus as he lay in his bed, said these words. O Seuerus, how carelesse art thou of the ambassage that thy greatly fauoured Plautianus doth send thee, whose messenger I am, not to giue thee warning (as I do advise thee) but to kill thee and thy sonne Bassianus: for that as thou hast trusted him with thine honour, and giuen him of thy goddes, it seemeth vnto him also, that thou shouldest serue him with thy life. Great was the admiration of Seuerus, when hee heard what Saturninus said: and yet most true, that presently hee mighte not beleue the same, or could thincke that so vile treason might be conserned in Plautianus: but rather y his sonne Bassianus had bee the inuenter thereof, to lead him into disdaine and hatred against Plautianus. Bassianus being lodged within his father, at his voyce did awake and came forth, whome his father Seuerus reproched & blamed with words very sharpe, for the invention of so great euill: and sware (by the immortal Gods) to receive him from thenceforth into his further grace and fauour, in the way of reuenge, for so great an impietie: for Plautianus was not a man to haue any such thought in his heart. And as Bassianus had not heard the beginning of Saturninus speach, so was hee abashed to see his father so græuously offended: wherupon, Saturninus seeing the incredulitie of the Emperour Seuerus, & how entirly he loued Plautianus, puld forth his writing, wherein hee was commaunded to kill both him & his sonne: and further, did humbly craue, that Plautianus might be sent for, with aduertisement, that Seuerus and his sonne were slaine, and then it should be seene that he would come apparelled not in silk, but in yron. One was sent as from Saturninus, vnto Plautianus to come to Court, where, at his arriuall finding all in silence, Saturninus met him at the chamber doore, & receiving him as new Emperour, vpon his knees did kisse his hands, and taking him by the hand in y darke, said he would direct him wheres Seuerus was strangled, and his sonne Bassianus slaine.

y.

Plau-

Plautianus thinking all safe & sure that Saturninus saide, entered the chamber alone, where Seuerus & Bassianus with certaine assistants were readie to receiue them i whome, when hee beheld living, that hee had thought to be dead, he chaunged countenaunce, and lost his speach.

“ A long time was Scuerus reprehending Plautianus,  
“ putting him in remembraunce of all thinges which he had  
“ done for him, and in especiall, so many & great displeasures  
“ which he had passed for his sake, and had aduauanted him a-  
“ bove all persons in the Empire, and aboue all the rest, had  
“ reuenged him of all his enimies. After Plautianus had a  
“ little recovered himself, he bowed his knees before his lord  
“ Scuerus, and with teares begant to craine pardon for his of-  
“ fense, promising amercement in time to come, saying, that  
“ for his owne cause, hee durst not pardon him, althoough hee  
“ wanted all deseruing for any mercie, but to take away all  
“ occasion of reporte in the Empire, that ever he had fauou-  
“ red so wicked a person. Beholding Plautianus teares, the  
“ promises which he made, the hoarie head & beard that he  
“ so tare, and the great loue that he had borne him, Scuerus  
“ was in a maner determined to pardon him: but in the end,  
“ being found to be clad in a shirt of male, wheron Bassianus  
“ laying his hand, said, Tell mee Plautianus, into prynces  
“ chambers at such an houre as this, do seruauntes enter ap-  
“ parell in sulkeyn or armed with frotte? I swear vnto thee  
“ by the immortall Gods, fides thow bringest yron to kill  
“ vs, thou shalt here die with yron. And hardly had en-  
“ ded these wordes, when he began to stab him with his dag-  
“ ger, whoe presently fell downe dead, and was beheaded:  
“ whose hode whiche fayre vppon a lattice ouer the port of Ho-  
“ stia, the bodye therewards bothe to travle alonge the  
“ streates of Rome! I am

This was the end and conclusion of the favoured and  
private Plaintiff; whom Foxworth first aduised; and  
soe afterwards cast away.

CHAP. XVII.

¶ Of the particular vices and virtues  
of Seuerus.

The newes being spread throughout Rome, that Plautianus was dead, al the people tooke great pleasure: and no lesse would haue ioyed, if Plautianus had slaine Seuerus and his sonne Bassianus: for that all thre were so euil wi-  
shed in the common wealth, that the least euill which they  
would them in the common wealth, was but death. The  
offices that Plautianus held in the common wealth, Seue-  
rus diuided amongst the Tribunes, simple and plaine me,  
and not given to trouble: but the loue and fauour which he  
had vnto Plautianus, he never after committed vnto any  
person: for as afterwardes he said, he knew not whome to  
trust, since his priuate and fauoured seruaunt Plautianus  
would murther him. Plautianus being dead, there was  
none that might suffer or indure the cruelties of the prince  
Bassianus, orollerate his tyramies: for Bassianus stood  
in awe of Plautianus, partly for that he was his father in  
lawe, as also for that he had bred him from his infancie. Se-  
uerus considering his sonnes Bassianus & Geta to increase  
in age, & decrease in wit, caused wilde beastes to be brought  
for them to kill, hogges to runne, inventing new playes to  
practise, & thereto to occupie their persons, diuerting their  
minded to those games, to remoue them from vices. Find-  
ing no profit to lead his sonnes to vertue by those war-  
like exercizes, he would tal them in secrete, and tel them of  
many old examples, how such and such princes were cast a-  
way by discord: and that the same mischance must happen  
vnto them, if they did not behaue themselves as friends, &  
fauour eche other as brothers: for that with concord smal  
things increase, & by discord great things came to nought.  
Besids that, they were overthwart in maners,  
and peruerse of condicione, (as before hath beene said) their

tutors did them much hurt: that is to say, in dissembling their vices, & inciting them to greater enimities: whereof Seuerus being aduertised, some of them he banished, some he dispatched, & some he drowned in welles; affirming that they deserved more punishment that kindled enimities, then the persons that did execute them. Plautianus left a daughter, that was wife unto Bassianus, and her sonne ne-  
phue unto Seuerus, and sonne unto Bassianus: as well the mother that was young, as y sonne which was a child they banished into Sicyl, giving them of al that which they had, no moxe but to serue them wherw to eate: which Seuerus did, not for enuite that he bare to his nephue & daughter in law, but not to offend his sonne Bassianus. Seuerus did vaunt himself, y his predecessors had bin of a citie in Africa, na-  
med Tripol, whch he did nobilitate, not only in buildings, but also in rents & priuileges, and planted there an orchard of Oliue trees, which did yeld so great quantitie of oyle, y it was sufficient for a great part of Africa and Italic. Seue-  
rus was a friend of wisenes, fauoured, studious, & deli very  
well with such as were learned: but ioynly with this, he  
did most abhore them, if they were either ouerthwart, or  
troublousome: for he vded to say, that fooles set neigbours  
at variance, but men that were wise & malicious brought  
kingdomes together by the eares. He was also inclined to  
read books, and to vnderstand antiquitie: & if he might not,  
by his impoxtant affaires read himselfe, he made others to  
read: and further, if he chaunced to be so busied, y he might  
not read himselfe, either heare reading, at such times they  
read unto him when he was eating, or whē he went to bed.  
He himselfe did write his owne life, & did write it as truly  
as if he had been a chronicles, that is to say, praising his vices  
& to les, & reprehending his vices: and also most truly, made  
a report of all men that he kild, but not of the smal reason y  
he had so to do. Seuerus was much blamed for his great co-  
uertise of gods, & for want of care & negligēce of his honour:  
for y his wife Iulia was a common adulteresse, whom he did  
neither chastise, or put away: neither is it written, y ever  
he did

he did advise or blame her. It was sufficient for Seuerus to know his wife to be enil, to be named Iulia, whiche name was euer infamous amonkest y womē of Rome. Although he were an enimie of vices, and of vicious me, much more was he enimie of thēues, aboue all other kinde of wicked people: and so is it said and found of him, that he did beare with many malefactors, but never pardoned any thēue. In his apparel he was not curios or costly, but alwaies was apparellē as a man of great sobernes: especially, much co-  
mended, that in his Empire he neuer beheld any person in Rome clad with silke or purple. Also in his feeding he was not disordinate, & yet truly of certaine fruits of Africa givē to seude somewhat ouermuch, and vded to say, that they had a better relishe then others: for that being a child, hee was bred with them. He delighted also moxe to eate fishe then flesh, and sometimes passed an whole moneth without the tast of any flesh: the flesh that he best loued was mutton, & of fish, the Trout. In many cities of y Empire, they made by his comauendement very notable workes: especially in the citie of Tripol in Africa, where he was borne, he made there a fort, & an house, & compassed it with a very strонge wall. He was a prince very careful, that the citie of Rome should alwayes be well prouided, which was manifested at his death, at what time they found viij. yeares prouision in wheat and oyle.

## CHAP. XVIII.

¶ How Seuerus passed into great Britaine,  
where he died.

Seuerus being settled in securitie, and intending certaine buildinges in Rome, received letters from y gouernour of great Britaine, which now is named England, y a great part of the Island was revolted from the seruice of Rome: and to appeale & force them to obedience, his presence was right necessarie: because the Prelate himselfe was not onely denied al obedience, but they sought meanes also to kill him. Seuerus was not displeased with this newes, although he were both old and sickly: for that he alwayes desired the

offer of great things to magnifie his fame, and perpetuate his memorie. Seuerus also was pleased with those warres, to haue occasion to withdraw his sonnes from the vices of Rome; and so it came to passe, that his elder sonne Bassianus he made captaine of the armie that he led by land: & to his younger sonne Geta, he gaue the charge of his armie & naute that passed by sea. Seuerus at the soudeine and vnprovided, assailed the Britaines, who at that instant they vnder-  
stode of his arruall in the Isle, sent their Ambassadours: partly to yeld accownt, and partly to discharge themselues of their rebellion, as also to set downe betwixt them a certeine concord, which Seuerus would neither yeld vnto, or abide to haire off: for he vanted rather to obteine y renoune of Britaine, then for any reason to make them warre. His armies being disimbarked, & the Ambassadours dispatched, euery man prepared, the one to offend, and the other to defend: Seuerus first prouided bridges, wheruppon his horse-men might passe, & his foote men auoyd occasion to swim. The Britaines of that part of Britaine, in those dayes, had a custome in time of warre, to encounter their enimies in lakes & waters, where they did place themselues vp vnto the arme pits, and from thence did fight and shew their skil: & when their enimies did shooe or whirle their darteres, they would stope or diue vnder water: in such wise, that it chaced thre sundrie times, that neuer happened in any part of the world: which is to witt, that 100. naked men, overcame 1000. armed persons. Wher at any time they would fight in the field, they vsed certaine targets after the manner of bucklers, & halfe swords girt vppon their bare flesh. All matters apperteining vnto the warres brought vnto perfection, Seuerus confirmed his younger sonne Geta, gouernour of a certaine place of the Island that had not rebelled, and kept his elder sonne Bassianus neare vnto his owne person: executing cruel warres vppon the Barbarians, who vppon determination to doe hurfe, or offend their enimies, dyed with great hardinesse: and vppon other determination, would put themselues to flight: in whiche flight

flight their enimies alwayes had the woerse.

The warres being traversed after this manner, the gowt did grieuously increase vppon Seuerus, in such manner, that he could neither go out of his campe, either sitt in counsel with his capteines: in so much, that he was constrained to commende the whole charge of the armie vnto his sonne Bassianus, who more did practise secreatly to frame hatred amongst the armies vnto his brother Geta, then to make conquest of the enimies. Bassianus so much rejoiced of his fathers griefe, and had so great care to inherite, that he sawe no houre, wherein he wished not his fathers death. Not meaning to leauue any euil vnperfoured that touched an euil nature, adding euill vnto euill, he subozned the Physicians that did cure him, and the seruaunts that serued him, in such wise, the one to serue him, and the other cure him, that if the gowte did not finishe him, poison shoulde dispatche him. Although no man said vnto Seuerus any one woerde, he did well perceiue what his sonne Bassianus desired: and so it came to passe, that beholding the disobedience which his sonne did beare him, & howe euil his seruaunts serued him, and howe slenderly his Physician did visite him: although he were olde and sickly, he died of pure sorrowe, and melancholy. The last woordes which Seuerus saide, before he dyed, they saye were these. When I tooke the Empire, I founde the common wealth throughout the worlde in trouble, and nowe I dye, I leauue it in peace: and although I dye without power to testar ny firmar, yet I leauue the Empire firme vnto my two sonnes Antonines; if they shal proue good, they remaine exactly made princes: and if they shal be euil, I leauue them nothing. Before Seuerus dyed, he commaunded two Fortunes of gold to be made, for either of his sonnes one: becausse it was the ensigne of the Empire, to take away all occasion after his death, for any of them, by him selfe, or for him selfe, to be aduaunced with the Empire, but equally to remaine in power and estate: This was the ende of Seuerus, whome his enimies might

## The life of the

" not kill with armes: and yet with griefe and sorowe was  
" slaine by his sonnes . Seuerus lived thre score and fiftene  
" yeres, and reigned two and twentie yeres: his bones were  
" burnt , and the ashes carried to Rome.

" Of this Emperour Seuerus , the Senate determi-  
" ned that, whiche of no other prince was determined, name-  
" ly, Illum aut nasci non debuisse, aut mori: whiche is to  
" saye: It had beene good (in respect of his cruelties which  
" he did) he had not beene borne : and since that he was  
" borne, (in consideration of the profite which he did in the  
" common wealth) it had beene good he had not died.

*The life of the Emperour Bassianus,*  
sonne vnto Seuerus, compiled by  
syr Anthonic of Gueuara, Bishop of Mondon-  
nedo, preacher, chronicler, and coun-  
seller vnto the Emperour  
Charles the fift.

## CHAP. I.

¶ Howe Bassianus and his brother Geta did in-  
herite the Empire of their fa-  
ther Seuerus.

  
Recently after the death of the Empe-  
rour Seuerus in great Britaine, his two  
sonnes, Bassianus and Geta, did succeed  
him in the Empire , betwift whome  
there was extreme discorde and cruell  
hatred: for, notwithstanding in bloude  
they were brothers, yet in wil & works  
they dealt as enimies. As Bassianus was  
elder brother, and also more cauillous & troublesome, so he  
began secretly to practise and subborne the capteines of

the

## Emperour Bassianus.

the armie to him onely to give the Empire, and to exclude  
Geta his younger brother from the inheritance: and to  
drawe them vnto his purpose , he spake swerte woordes,  
blinded them with faire promises of greate hope, and also  
gane them riche Jewels . Nothing might Bassianus at-  
taine with the capteines of his armie , for that every one  
in particular, and all in generall, made him answer, that  
since they were sonnes vnto their lord Seuerus , and bothe  
brethren , and loyally had sworne vnto them as their  
Lordes and Princes, it were not iust they shoulde be tray-  
tors in their promise vnto their father : or shoulde make  
a breache of their othc, that in the temples they had sworne  
vnto the Gods .

After that Bassianus might not corrupt the armie with  
woordes, deedes, or giftes, he tooke peace with the Britans,  
to the ende presently to departe towardes Rome: and his  
brother Geta being aduertised that Bassianus sought the  
Empire vnto him selfe, whiche the father Seuerus had lefte  
vnto them bothe, grewe into great hatred & disdaine with  
his brother: in such wise, that from thenceforth, the two  
brethren behaned them selues, not only as vtter enimies,  
but also the courte was diuided into bandes . Bassianus &  
Geta were brethren by the father, but not by the mother:  
for that Bassianus was his sonne by his first wife, and Geta  
by Iulia whiche was the second wife . Geta his mother,  
and the auncient and honourable Romanes that were re-  
maining after the death of Seuerus , did not a little tra-  
uaile to confederate and set them at agreement: but in  
the ende, they were neither conuinced with the infinite  
teares of the mother , either might be persuaded by the  
great requestes and instant intreatance of their friendes.  
The affaires of Britaine being set in order , the two bre-  
thren much without order, departed towardes Rome, car-  
rying with them the reliques of their father Seuerus, that  
is to say , his bones made ashes, whiche in all cities, as they  
passed, were received with as great reverence , as if Se-  
uerus had beene alane.

## The life of the

From the time that Bassianus & Geta departed from Britaine, until they entred Rome, they never lodged in one lodging, or sode at one table, or had conference vpon the waye, but had of eache other great suspicione: yea in meat and drinke to haue received poysone. To go in so greates doubt and suspicione, was cause of small staye vpon the waye, although it were very long: and before their coming vnto Rome, either of them had sent their secreat messengers, not onely to take vp the best lodgings in Rome, but also to solicite and to winne the willes of the common wealth, because they conceiued, that they might not ioyntly be conserued in their leigniozie, but that one must remaine with the Empire. That day on which Bassianus and Geta his brother shoulde enter Rome, all Rome came forth to receive them, which was mixed w<sup>th</sup> ioye and sorrowe: sorrowe, for the death and buriall of Seuerus: and ioye, for that his children were come aliuie to reigne in his steade. Entring into the citie, the two brethren and newe Emperours went before, appareled in purple, on horsebacke: after them, came the Sena-  
tors all on foote, who bare on their shoulders, a chest of Unicorne, wherin was placed the ashes of Seuerus: such persons as attended the dead went weeping: and those that accompanied Bassianus & Geta went singing. Being entred into the citie, and the day farre spent, they went vnto the temple of the greate Emperour Marcus Aurelius, where the two newe Princes fell on their knees to adoeze his sepulchre, as a moste holie man, and there bestowed the ashes of their father Seuerus. Before Seuerus departed vnto the second warres of Britaine, he had begon a most sumptuous sepulchre in the fielde of Mars: amongst other ornaments that it had, were seuen pillars polished verie high and stately, wherein was grauen all his actes and victories: but his life first was finished, before his sepulture was ended.

## Emperour Bassianus.

## CHAP. II.

¶ Howe in Rome they burie their Emperours, and of great ceremonies which there they vsed.

After that Bassianus and Geta his brother had repos'd the body of their father Seuerus in the temple of the Emperour Marcus Aurelius, presently they beganne to consecrate his body, and to place his soule with the Gods, accordinge to the custome of the Romans: whiche ceremony was not done, but vnto dead Emperours: and the order thereof was thus. Presently vpon the death of an Emperour, the Senate did assemble to determine, if hee deserued to be buried with the Gods, either els after his burial to leaue him to obliuion as other men: and if he had beene euill, the Senate woulde be absent at his burial: and if he had bene good, all clad in blacke, woulde attend to consecrate his body. And to do the same, their firste attempt was to bury the body of the deade prince without any ceremonie, and then made him an image of woode after the manner of a sickle and colourlesse man, which they placed aloste vpon a scaffolde ouer the Courte gate: and that image, although it were of a sickle man, yet did they clad it with garmentes of silcke and golde, as though the counterfeite were aliuie. In the hight of that scaffolde, or throne, the Senate were set on the leste hande, and on the right hand all the matrones of Rome: of whome none might be appareled richly, other deckt with iuels of gold or stonye: but all persones were there clad in white, for that all iudees apparel in Rome was counted iuorning. The Senators and matrones were placed and sett at the risinge of the sunne, and did not rise vntill the sunne was set: there might they neither speake, or gaze about, but all that time was consumed in sighing, weeping, and wayling.

From houre to houre, Physsicians came and went to visite that Image, and so did raise, beholde, and siele his pulses, as if the Emperour him selfe had bene there aliuue, and alwayes at their parting would report vnto the Senatours and ladies, that the sick person drewe on to death. At which newes, the matrones did grite and shiche, and the Senatours did weepe and waile. This order they vsed seuen dayes together, but first vpon the sixt day, the Physsicians did forslake the sick person, and finally, on the seuenth day manifestly would publish his death: presently after he was denouced for dead, placing the handles of the baire wheroun the Image of the dead was laide vpon their shoulders, the chiefe and moste honourable Senatours on horsebacke did beare the same: and after this manner went vnto the place named Vaietia, and might not go by any other way but by the sacred waye, whiche was a trooke where no man durst passe, but Emperours that were dead and priestes that were aliuue. In that place named Vaietia, there was another buylding made of stone, after the manner of a Thron, having on bothe sides degress and staires to mount aloft, where they did place the Image of the dead Emperour: vpon the one staires, stode children, the sonnes of the gentlemen of Rome, and on the other parte stode the damsels and virgins of Rome, and there did singe many sorrowfull songes and hymnes, published in the praise of the dead. From thence they remoued the baire with the Image of the dead, vnto the fieldes of Mars, where also was made another scaffold, all of vñe wood, vnder the vaut whereof was laide stubble, stalkes, and strawe, and other kindling matter to burne: the outside was brauely painted, and hanged with rich tapestrie, and aloft vpon the highest parte thereof, they placed the Image of the dead Emperour. On the day in which this ceremonie was perfourmed in Rome, they did concurre to beholde the same from all partes of Italic: and euerie Lord and ladie that was present, did throwe vpon the degress of that Thron, myrrre, incense, aloes, amber, roses, and

and dther thinges of fragrant sauours. When all men had offered their sweet perfumes, the Senatours did skirmish on horseback, and presently after them the two Consuls gaue a boylt aloft on their chariots gorgeously adorneed: and after them there followed on foot, all the auncient Romanes and neigbourhood of Rome, and all such as had bene captaines of the warres: all which after they had gone a turne about the Thron, fel downe groueling, exclaiming very loude against the ground. After the thre processions were done, whiche is to wexe, of y Senatours, of the Consuls, and of the capteines, came he that did inherite the Empire, who with a burning torche, gaue fire to that Thron; whiche being all of drie stiffe, presently was consumed. Before the beginning of this great ceremonie, the Senate sought out against that day a braue Eagle, which was placed betwixt the handles of y baire, wherre the Image of the dead was laide: With great skill and subtilitie, at the time that the Image burnt, the Eagle was losed and flewe away: and as her proper nature is to fleye vppwarde, all men saide with loude voices, that it was the soule of the dead Emperour, that was gone to the Goddes vpp to heauen. As oft as ye shall finde these words written of any Prince or notable personage, namely: Inter diuos relatus est, that is, they haue placed him with the Gods, all these ceremonies were done vnto him: vnto such a one, from thenceforth, they might sacrifice, adore, make temples, and place Priestes, in such manner, they had to honour him as a God, and not to talke of him, as of a man.

## CHAP. IIII.

¶ Of the mortall hatred betwixt Bassianus and  
Geta his brother.

After the two brethen had accomplished the funerall office of their father Seuerus, they went bothe to lode

in the sacred palace: not ioynly, but parting the looing  
betwixt them, every one placing porters by them selues,  
and their gard to attende vpon them. Although their loo-  
ging was one, yet their willes and dispositions were di-  
uers: and such as had to deale in matters of importance,  
conforred not with them, but with their mother: who  
tooke the opinion of the one, and so of the other, whiche af-  
terwardes was perfourmed by advise and consent of the  
Senate: because otherwise the common wealth shoulde  
haue runne at randon and be lost. These two Princes  
neuer ioynly came forth, but when they went to the Se-  
nate, or to visite the temple of the greate Emperour  
Marcus Aurelius: for Seuerus had cennauished, that  
weekeley they shoulde offer sacrifices in that temple; and  
monethly his heires shoulde visite that sepulchre. Bassianus  
and his brother Geta, had small care to visite temples, of-  
fer sacrifices, go to the Senate, reforme the comon wealth,  
either prouide necessarie matter for the warres: but all  
their bent and studie was, the one to beguyle the other,  
to winne the willes of the people: to the ente that on being  
dead, the other might reigne without contradiction.  
Both the brethren being thus diuided, and bothe leading  
the Empire into haedes: notwithstanding that bothe had  
enimies and friendes, yet alwayes the greater parte of  
the common wealth were more affectionate to the young-  
er sonne, whiche was Geta. Geta was white and redde,  
high, sharpe, milde, nimble, of greate lightnesse: and of  
verte god condition: and yet in respect of reining he was  
as proude as Bassianus. Bassianus his brother was a fa-  
lowe blacke, cholerike adust, little of bodie, broade fo-  
rehead, muche skinne on his hantnes, hololute and hoarse of  
voice, preignant, subtile, diligent, and a lyar: for if he ne-  
ded any thing, he woulde flatter all men with faire words,  
and after ened all thinge in lies. The diuisions every  
day proceedinge from euil to worse, it was beynde all  
mennes powers, to bring them agred, or make them  
friendes: they bothe denised, without aduertisement of  
any

any person to diuide the Empire: the manner was, that  
all kingdomes shoulde equally be diuided in two partes, &  
that the name of Emperour shoulde be indifferent vnto  
them both.

There was allotted vnto Bassianus all Europe, & vnto  
Geta his brother the kingdoms of Asia: and the ente wher-  
fore they diuided the Empire, was, not to be friendes from  
thenceforth, but to haue libertie, men, and riches, to rise  
with Rome: and he that myght do most, to dispatche the o-  
ther of his life. When this agreement was made, they  
determined to call their mother Iulia, and all the auncient  
seruauntes and friendes of the house of Seuerus their fa-  
ther: vnto whome Bassianus gaue to vnderstand, how his  
brother and he had agreed, and were become friendes: and  
their agreement was, that they had diuided the Empire,  
he remaining with the estate and seat of Rome, and Geta  
his brother hauing Antioche the head of his Empire, and  
the estate of all Asia. As Bassianus then saide, so it was a-  
greed, that þ gods of the patrimonie were diuided in thre  
partes, two partes for the two brethren, and the third for  
Iulia their mother: and further, that all Senatours, cap-  
teines, and other notable persons of the Empire, freely (if  
they so liked) myght go with Geta into Asia, or remaine  
with Bassianus in Rome. There was no man there that  
liked this agreement, much lesse allowed þ same: for they  
all did see it was but fained, and that ere long the Empire  
would be inflamed with warres, as in the dayes of Julius  
Caesar and Pompeyus, of Caesar Augustus, and Marcus  
Antonius. Although all men were grieved with þ which  
was saide, yet all men did both dissemble and keepe silence,  
wþ sad countenance casting their eyes to the ground: which  
their mother Iulia, possessing patience in sufficient, an-  
swered and saide vnto them as followeth.

CHAP. IIII.  
¶ Of an excellent speache vttered by the mother  
vnto her sonnes.

Aa.i. I may

I may wel call ye sonnes ( O children of my heart) since thot Geta proceededst from mine intrailes, & thec Bassianus I haue nourished with my breastes: & I swere by the immortall Gods, that much greater is the loue that I bare thee, then the affinitie which I haue with thy brother . Thou well knowest Bassianus, that from the first houre that I came to the court, & was wife vnto thy father Seuerus, I had the name of mother in lawe, & the works of a perfect mother: and that many times thou didst request mee to cherishe thy brother Geta, for that it seemed vnto thee he was not fauoured: in such wise, that if he be the only person that I haue borne, thou only wast he that was cherisched. I haue great reason to call you my children, & to bewaile you as children, to talke with you as children: for on the day y the one proceeded frō my bowels, the other entred into my harte. Maruell ye not to see mee powre forth so many teares , & at euery worde to be dismaide & swoone: for , as ye see my sorrowfull eyes, so may you behold my lamentable heart: ye should well perceiue it gush out more with bloud, then mine ey es doe flowe with teares . If my husbante & your father shoulde heare that which I heare, and should see that which I see, it would grieue him that euer ye were borne: and no lesse , that euer he begat y ot: because you wil giue no credite vnto your friendes ; either obey me your sorrowfull mother, or perfourme his will & cōmaundemēt. Wherfore do ye seeke the whole for one , since he left the same for bothe : what an heauie matter is this my children : the Gods haue created ye brethren, and you haue conuerted your selues enimies : the glory which ye possesse, to haue had such a father : ye would quite

hina

him with so much griefe , to haue so frowarde chil- dren. To leaue the Empire entire, your father slewe Julianus, Pessenius Niger, and Albinus , that helde it diuided in three partes : and nowe againe ye will diuide and rent it in pieces . Do ye not understand, howe Princes that haue their willes vnted, neede not to diuide their countries : Haue ye not heard say, that to obteine honour, & to defende that which we pos- sesse, for these two only things , & for no other cause warre is raised betwixt kinges and princes ? If this be true ( as it is ) and both you falling out for goods, knowe ye not, that your father onely of him self, hath left ye more then all the Princes of the worlde haue left vnto them : And if it so be , that ye strive for the attaingement of honour, I knowe not to what ende ye would haue more honour, then to be Emperours of Rome . O immortall Gods ! I inuocate, and moste humbly pray you, that ye deale not according to the childishnesse of these young men, but agreeable vnto the great seruice which their father hath done you, & the abundance of teares which their lamentable mother hath powred foorth: for otherwise, the memory of my Lord Seuerus shal perish & be lost , & the ma- jestic of y Empire put in great danger. If we did think (my children) y this diuision of the Empire, might be an occasiō frō henceforth to deale & live like brethrē, we would hold it all for good , and thinke it all right well : but what doth it profite , that ye haue diuided the Empire onely in two partes : and ye twaine re- maine diuided in an hundredth thousande differences: If ye wil be fauoured of the Gods, & obeyed of men, call to remembrance your fathers commaundement: condescend vnto your mothers request, and ycalde

Aa.ii.

your

your selues vnto the iudgement of your friendes : for that young Princes do neuer knowe to gouerne wel, if they permitt not to be gouerned of the vertuous. Consider children, that ye are but younglings, and in great affaires haue small experience : and that your youth shall leade you vnto many vices, & your smal experience cause you to fall in great & many errors. Also ( my children) ye haue to consider, that ye posseſſe your heartes too much passioned, and go inuironed with many lyars : which two thinges be most cruell and enorme, in the persons & houses of princes : because with their passion, they committ much iniustice, and by lies, they cloake many foule and pernicious deedes. The passioned and furious hearte is sufficed with his owne furie, to be lead into all errors: and the lyar defendeth him from all knowlege and acquaintaunce of his owne fault. If ye remeber your selues, that ye be men, and that I am a woman, with great reason ye might haue small regarde vnto that which I do say: but if ye consider that ye be my children, and I your mother, greate estimation shoulde ye conceiue of my counSELLES : for that credite which I lose to be a woman, I recouer for that I am your mother. If ye did loue your father, as your father loued you, your sorrowful mother should haue no cause so much to persuade you to be friendes: for that to remoue all causes to bring his honour in disputation, ye would refuse & cast behind you all interest whatsoeuer of any goods. Since ye will not liue in peace, in as muche as it toucheth the seruice vnto the Gods, and the great mischieves that must follow your owne persons, and the infamie wherewith ye shall infect your dead father, yet shoulde ye doe the same,

same, for the loue and behalfe of your living mother: because the dissensions, hauelles, and infidelities of the children, many they be that doe beholde them: but in the ende, the mothers do onely bewaile them. Against the testament of your father, without the will of your mother, contrarie vnto the custome of the Senate, and without advise of any friend, ye haue betwixt you diuided the empire, leauing me vnto my selfe to be diuided: wherein, speaking conformably vnto iustice, it had beene more reason ye should haue diuided your owne proper mother, then the landes & countries of others. O immortal Gods, why haue ye taken away my Lord Soverus vnto your selues, and left me placed in so many daungers and trauels? since ye haue giuen me two children, why was not giuen me two heartes? and if I craue two hearts, it is but to loue them: but two thousand hearts wil not suffice to endure their vnkindnesse. O my children, (although no children of my counSELLES) for that, though ye be mine by birth, yet are ye become straungers by disobedience. I knowe not my childre, what to say more vnto you : but since ye be twaine, and my heart but one: that ye pull it foorth, & open it in the middest, and diuide it as ye haue diuided the Empire: and yet by the vestall mother, I sweare vnto you, that if ye opened my heart, and made search therein, ye shoulde finde in the same the greatnessse of my loue, but much more, that I suffer and am tormented.

## CHAP. V.

¶ Howe Bassianus, to obteine the Empire vnto him selfe, slew his brother in his mothers armes,

Emperour Bassianus. 343  
 It was lamentable to heare the Empresse Julia, but much more to beholde her, who seeing her children so extremely diuided, and so farre from fraternitie, at every woorde which she saide, the Heauens did cleave with sighes, and the ground was watered with teates. At the instant she finished her talke, shee rose from her chayre, & going to her sonnes; with the right hand shee taketh Bassianus, and Geta with the left, imbrabing them with her selfe, trauelling to cause them to imbracie, and to be reconciled and ioyning all their three faces together, with y abundaunce of teares of the mother, the faces of her sonnes were all wett and bedewed. Many Romanes that were present began to mourne, in hearing what Julia saide, and afterwardes howe with her children she did behaue her selfe: no man replied or spake more wordes, than as much as all men did allowe that which the mother saide: and improved the diuision of the Empire which the sonnes had made.

The heartes of these two Princes were so muche passioned, and ioyntly therewith of nature so indurate, that when the mother did talke vnto them, it seemed not, but that they were thinking of some other matter; which had most perfect apparauice, because at that time they were neither moued with compassion of her teares, either afterwardes did take any profit of her counseil. The mother only profited not in her trauaille to reconcile them, but that from thenceforth they ceased not to discouer greater hatred: that is to say, in that either of them sought to corrupt each others woud, promising great wealth in Roine to be givien vnto him that would coniect his lordes meate with poysone. When Bassianus perceiued, that he might not (by any meane) dispatche his brother Geta with poysone, and ioyntly therewith, that the Romanes were somewhat inclined vnto him by affection, determined qu a daye, when all persons were moste inclined to sleepe at a dñe, to go vnto the lodging of his mother Julia, with

whom he remained: and finding them at their rest, he gaue Geta so many stabs with his dagger, that he was bereft of his life. When Bassianus set vpon his brother Geta, the mother to save him, cast her selfe vpon him; notwithstanding he ceased not to wound him, and kill him. The case was thus; that with one blowe he both wounded his brother, and iabbewd the garment of the mother: and finally, the brother remained dead; and the mothers garments beslild.

This done Bassianus goeth forth through al the court, exclaiming with a loude voyce, and with greate feare and tremblings; treason, treason, my brother Geta would haue slaine me by treason in my bed; and if I had not leapt out at a windowe, and the destinies beene fauourable vnto mee at that instant, I had not escaped with life: and not satisfied with that which was saide, he commaunded his garde to conduct him out of the court, and to garde and attende him vnto mount Celius, where the Pretorian bands were lodged, insouminge that in y palace there was no safetie: for that his brother had attempted to murther him.

All men that heard the exclamation that Bassianus made, did beleue that all things had passed as he had said: and the Esquites of the bodie did accompanie and attende him, vntil they had brought him amongst the Pretorians: and entring the tent where they had their armour and pendons, kneeling vpon his knees, hee gaue greate thankes vnto the Gods, that had preserved him vnto that place: and also vnto his garde, that had succoured him in time of so great neede. To beholde Bassianus go at such an houre, with so greate an heate, through the middell of Roine, and that with so great furie, all that beheld him were scandalized: and did imagine amongst them selues, that he had slaine his brother, or done some vile deede vnto his mother in lawe. Assone as he saue him selfe amongst the Pretorians, he diuided amorgest them, two thousande & five hundredth drachmes of golde, according

to the weight of Achenes further, promised to gine them  
yearly, wheate to furnish their families, besides their or-  
dinarie wages. The same being divulgate throughout  
Rome, and the trueth knowne of the great treason which  
Bassianus had committed, Geta his friendes woyned to seeke  
him, with a determined purpose extremely to haue ren-  
ged Geta: and as the matter was put to armes, and came  
to hande gripes, Geta his friendes being the fewer in  
number, were soone ouercom: which although they were  
subdued, yet truly deserue no dispraise: being but fewe  
in number, seeing their Lordre dead, and Bassianus in pos-  
session of the armie, they wanted no hardinesse to fight, &  
no lesse courage to dye: but what shall we saye, but that  
if their quarell were just, their fortune was verie crose.  
Small aduantageth it that the minde be generous, and the  
bodie warlike, if he that taketh armes be vnfortunat: for  
that one houre of happie fortune, is more woorth then  
all policies of warre. Create was the compassion that  
all men conceiued of the cruell death of Geta, and no lesse  
was the hate which they did beare vnto Bassianus, not on-  
ly to kill him vpon so greate assurance, but also to mur-  
ther him in a place of so great priuiledge, that is to saye,  
within the sacred palace, & imbraced within the brestes  
of his mother. When Bassianus sawe that his brother  
Geta was dead, all his allies and serauants ouercome, &  
that whatsoeuer he had attempted with temeritie, suc-  
ceeded with great prosperitie: he went vnto the temples,  
and tooke from thence all their treasure, in such wise, he  
tooke alway in one daye, that which manie princes had gi-  
uen in many yeres. A greate quantitie of those treasures  
Bassianus diuided amongst his Pretorians: who seeing  
themselves riche in money, and that their enimies were  
subdued, went into Rome, began to enter into the hou-  
ses, and killed all persons with whome they had unkind-  
nesse: but that which was more odious, vpon wagers  
would kill a whole kinnes, vntill they left no persone, in  
whome any remembrance might remaine.

Many noble persons were determined to haue slaine Bas-  
sianus, in the beginning of his Empire: which they left not  
vndone for his deseruing, either for want of will, but for  
doubt that after his death, many should rise with the Em-  
pire: for presently they thought it lesse cuill to suffer one,  
then to resist many.

Now when Bassianus sawe himselfe rich in treasure of  
the temples, and obeyed of the Pretorians, he determined  
to mount alst vpon the high Capitol, and there to speake  
vnto the Senat: partly to gine accownt of that which was  
done, and partly to gine them to vnderstād what he would  
doe. Being placed in the muddes of the Senat, and set in  
the imperiall chaire, and every man vsing silence, he said  
after this manier.

## CHAP. VI.

¶ Of a certaine speach vsed of Bassianus vnto  
the Senate, excusing himselfe of the  
death of his brother  
Geta.

Although in age I am but younge, and in mine at-  
temptes reputed as rash, yet I cease not to confesse  
that I am in great hatred with the people: and that my  
death should as much content them, as now my life is  
displeasant vnto them. And as princes are in the view  
of all persons, so are all their works iudged of al men:  
and from thence it procedeth, that their iust attemptes  
are praised of many, but their errours condemned of  
all. They that presume to judge the woorkes of prin-  
ces, are not alwayes so iuste, that they iudge continuallie  
conformable vnto justice: for as many times they  
praise the prince with lies: so it may happen, y they  
accuse them with malice. One of the extreameſt tra-

uels that princes haue; is : that such as throng in them-  
selues to talke of our liues, and to examine our deeds  
and actes, they talke not as we liue, but as we vse and  
deale with them : for if we honour & magnifiethem,  
they report we be no princes, but gods : but if we cha-  
stise and bring them downe, they say wee be no men  
but furies. Many times, princes do chastise many, not  
because we delight to punish, but y' it so agreeith with  
the imperiall authoritie so to be done : for as with  
rewardes and pardons wee magnifie our pietie & cle-  
mencie; so it is convenient, that with rigourous chastis-  
ements, wee make our iustice to bee esteemed. Many  
presume to iudge the vices of princes, which if they  
were princes, would not onely commit thinges wor-  
thie of iudgement, but also iustly to be depriued of the  
Empire : for the knowledge of good gouernement, is  
not a thing that men obtaine of themselues : but a gift  
which the Gods do giue vnto whome they please.

There is no prince so absolute or dissolute, that at  
the least, in his gouernment desireth not to be iust: but  
what shall wee doe, that haue no more power but to  
wishes to do well? and the gods onely to giue grace to  
gouerne well. But comming to the case now chaun-  
ced, for which the whole multitude with me be escā-  
dalized: I swere by the immortall gods, y' if the truth  
as it was were manifested, I should be found without  
blame: but I am of the one part so vnfourtunate, and of  
th' other part the multitude is so variable, that it many  
times happeneth, that of my manifest actes they say  
nothing: and of that which neuer passed my thought,  
they accuse me. O ye iust gods, vnto you all I appeale  
as witnessses: who first would haue kild y' other, either  
whether my brother Geta would haue slaine mee, or

I would

I would haue slaine him: for ye well vnderstand, that  
being repos'd on my bed, he entered vpon me with a  
naked sword: with which hee would haue drawne  
forth my soule, if by chaunce I had not found one at  
my beds head. If hee was the beginnere of that quar-  
rel, and that fortune would sauour me at that instant,  
wherfore, being vitterly without aby fault, I shold I  
be blaimed of all persons in Rome. What greater te-  
stimoniie would ye of my innocencie, but respecting  
that hee being the person that offended, and I the man  
that defended my selfe, the gods haue brought vpon  
him, that which hee meant to perfourme on mee: nei-  
ther in aby good iudgement may it be conteined, that  
if by malice or enuie I would haue slaine my bro-  
ther, that I should execute the same by stealth, and  
within the sacred palace, for that is so enorme a case,  
I deserued not so much chastisement for the deede, as  
to committre the same in the place where that was  
done.

I will not denie, that vnto my brother I was not  
bound to honour him, loue him, succour him, and to  
deale well with him: but I will not confessle that I  
was bound, for all treasons and iniuries to suffer him:  
for as it is honourable for great princes, to dissemble  
& pardō iniuries, that are done to them by their infe-  
rioris: so necessarie is it for them to reuenge the dis-  
courtesies and displeasures, done vnto them by their  
betters or equals. It is notorious vnto al men, that in  
times past, many princes of the Romaine Empire had  
brethren, with whom they might not endure, but that  
many of them were slaine, or at the least driuen out  
of the Empire: for in fine, there is none of so great  
temperaunce, that in case of commaundement,  
would

would haue a companion: no not his brother. Consider the behauour of Remus and Romulus, Tiberius and Germanicus, Titus and Domitian, Marcus and Lucius, & others infinite that were brethren: amongst whome, vpon the point of commaundement and gouernement, there arose so great displeasures and vnkindnes: not as though they had beeene natural brethren, but as most cruel enemies. O fathers, conscript and friends, giue thanks vnto the Gods, that haue preserued your prince safe & sound: for that without cause they would not haue giuen him his death, and conserued my life: for the workes of our gods are so profound, secrete, and vnkowne, that althoughe wee see what they doe: yet wee see not the end why they do it. Amongst all the gods, onely Jupiter is he that hath dominion, and so amongst al men the god Jupiter would not, but that onely one should possesse the Empire: for it were no lesse monstruous to gouerne the Empire by two persons, then one body to haue two heads. If for all the Heauens, one God be sufficient, and for all Bees but one king, and all members be gouerned with one heart, & all birds haue but one guide: I demaund of you my friends, to gouerne the common wealth of Rome, if one man be not sufficient. As we haue read in booke of our forefathers, and as we haue seene in our dayes, there is nothing more conuenient vnto the Romane Empire, as to be gouerned by one only person: for that we haue seene more warres raised, vpon which prince should commaund, then for any disobedience of subiects. Howe fierce warres were raised betwixt Silla & Marius, Cæsar and Pompeie, Augustus and Marcus Antonius, Galba and Othos, Othos and Bytellus, Bytellus and

and Vaspasianus: & now of late betwixt Seuerus my father, and Iulianus and Albinus. All these great calamities, whiche the miserable common wealth of Rome hath suffered, was not for that many would not be commaunded: but for that many would commaund. Admitting that my father commaunded in his testament, that Geta my brother and I should diuide the Empire: yet many doe know, & they are not fewe which presume, that he would neuer haue done it, but his wife and my mother in lawe constrained him so to assigne: and in a case so great, hard & graue, respect ought not to be giuen to that whiche hee did, but vnto that which he would haue done: because the magnificence of the Empire, and the wisedome of the Senate, ought not to be bound, to the procurement of a vaine woman: but vnto that which is most conuenient for the common wealth.

## C H A P . VII.

¶ Of the great crueltie of Bassianus, and of such as he commaunded to be slaine.

All the time that Bassianus vsed this speach vnto y<sup>e</sup> Senate, no man cut off his talk, or when he had finished, no person durst answere one word: but that he in ending his tale, beheld all his friends: & such as he suspected, he would not once looke vpon: wherof they remained not only despited, but also terrified: because the thinge that the heart loueth, is seene and knowne by the vents and windowes of the eyes. Neither for that Bassianus had said in open place, either for any aduiseement of friends in secrete, did he cease to continue his cruelties: but that presently he commaunded to be slaine, not onely such as his b<sup>r</sup>other Geta held for friends,

friends, but also the friends of his friends. He slue all the seruants and officers of his brother, not only such as serued him in the common wealth, but all such also, as serued him in all maner of vyle things of his house: that is to say, cookes, butlers, caterers, sweepers, mole kepers, turne spits, and boyes of the kitchen: at the death of wheron, albeit both before and after he slue many yet of none had they so great compassion in Rome as of those persons. Also he slue al his wagginers, all his horsekeepers, all his bakers, all his launders, all his musicians, al his taylers, finallie, he slue all that his brother loued: and all such as did serue him. Hee slue all the Senatours and officers of Rome, that folowed the parcialtie of his brother Geta, and kilde all Questours, Pretors, and valiant capitaines, throughout the Empire. He slue Lucilla, an excellent matrone of Roine, sister unto the Emperour Commodus, and daughter unto the great Marcus Aurelius, whome all Emperours past did honour as an Empresse, and serued as a mother; and this was in such wise, that as any temple of Roine her house was privileged. The cause wherefore they say, he slue the Lady Lucilla, was: for that, when she heard of the death of Geta, shee went unto the Courte to comfort the mother, and because her syrowe: whereof Bassianus being aduertised, said. Since Lucilla mourneth for the death of my brother Geta, with my mother in law: it signifieth that she would joy of his life, and of my death: but I will liue, and she shal die. Also he slue many of the bestall virgins, some that he accused for breaking thair virginitie: and others, for that they presumed to be virgins: saying it was a iest, to beleue that any might liue and die a virgine in this life.

He slue an auncient knight named Letus, which was at the death of Commodus: and also was acquainted with the death of Geta his brother. He slue Rufus a knight of Africa, and his neare kinsman, that is to say, his buckles sonne, who at the euening did invite him to supper, and in the morning commaunded to be slaine. He slue Pompeyanus,

thus the sonne of Lucilla, and nephue unto Marcus Aurelius, a man of great courage in warres, and venturous in armes, whome he commaunded to be slaine trauellung vpon the way, and cast forth report that theuer had slaine him. Hee slue Papianus the learned Lawyer, who in those dayes was most famous in knowledge and counsell, that was in all the Romane Empire: and thus it passed, that Bassianus when hee came out of the Senate, did take Papianus on his right hand, and all alongest the streate layde his righte arme vpon his shoulder, vntill they came vnto the entrie of the house at the foote of the staire, where, with an axe, (such as they cleane woode,) hee commaunded his head to be cut off.

Hee slue Petronius whiche had beene Consul, Senator, Questour, Pretor, Edil, and Flamen fourtie yeares: in all whiche time, hee neuer offended any man, either any person had complained of him: wherefore hee was named the good Petronius. Hee slue Sationicus Senus, whiche also was a Lawyer: and of this man it is said, that in eloquence hee was very sweets, and in writing no lesse Satyricall.

Also hee slue a sonne of the Emperour Pertinax, named Elius Pertinax, who for a wonder was said in Rome, that in either wood or deede, it was never perceiued in him, that ever in his whole life hee did so muche as went for the Romane Empire: whiche was not a little to bee praised, and also meruailed: because sonnes naturally are not onely inclined to inherite their fathers goodes: but also to succeede them in their honours. Furthermore, hee commaunded a notable Romane to be slaine, named Chilus, because hee had continually traueilid to make him friende wyth his brother Geta: whoe presupposing that they came to kill him, stripte himselfe cleane oute of his apparell, and escaped oule at a certaine windowe of his house.

He killed his first wife, y daughter of Plautianus, whiche was exiled into Sicyl, & caused search to be made in Rome, and thzough

througouh the Empire, for al that were sonnes, cousins, wuckles, nephues, or neare parentes unto the bloud royall, all which he commaunded to be slaine, both men and women: because neither rote, branche, or memorie, should remaine of auncient or generous bloud. As well in Rome, as els where througouh the Empire, Bassianus commaunded many others to be slaine: but that which was more cruell, the executioners had authoritie to take away their miserablie liues, but not to burie their bodies, leaving them to the soules of the ayze: as for the noblest, they were carried in carres on heapes, and consumed with fire even to ashes. He was not onely euill and cruell, but also did boast himselfe to be a friend of such as were noted to be euil & cruell: for they never heard him say well of any prince past, but of Silla the cruell, Brute the traitour, Catiline the tyrant, the Gracchies seditious, Domitian the defamed, and Commodus the dissolute. Exactly to accomplithe his cruelties, it chaunced on a certaine day, representing the Circen playes in Rome ( unto which feast an huge nuber of people were come to behold) that as the guide of the imperiall chariot, might not passe, because the streets were stopt with multitudes of people, he began by force to make his way, and teare and treade the people: who made resistance for their safetie, adding therunto wordes ouer furlous, as people passioned. And as the Emperour then being placed in the same chariot, although they said no word to his offence, he received the cochenans iniurie as his owne: presently commanding al his Pretorians which there did guard his person, to make slaughter at their libertie. And as al persons there present were moze deckt and trimmed for the feast, then armed, either in redinesse for battel: so great compassion was it to behold the multitudes of people that died there, without any offence, and shedding of bloud of so many innocentes: for if tenne or twelve had offended, they were more then 15,000 that were there executed. The Romanes did neither eate, drincke, sleepe, or doe any thing, but with great trembling, not doubting when they should be

be acciased, but when Bassianus shoulde commaunde them to be slaine: for never tyrant did execute that, which he ordinarily perfourmed in Rome: which is to iuste, without any accusation of fiscall, or complaint of enimie, or wante of seruice, to commaunde any man to be slaine.

## CHAP. VIII.

Of the prouinces whiche Bassianus did trauell,  
and the thinges which he did therein,

After that Bassianus had slaine his brother Geta, and his enimies, as also manie of his friendes, and infinite others y were neither friends nor foes: he departed from Rome, iourneyng towardes Germanie, whiche nowe is named high Almaine: with determination to visite those prouinces, and to resourme his armes, whiche by continuance of peace, were growne to greate negligence in matters of warre. A whole summer hee lodged neare unto the riuier of Danubie, where he exercised hunting, fishing, playing, running, torneyng, and sometimes late in iudgments: and a matter wherein he made all men to wonder, was, that in hearing anie cause at the instant, he gaue sentence wherein he never erred, and also iudgments according to iustice. He had greate delactatio of that contrarie, and the people of the same, makinge choyce of the valiantest and gallantest personages of the youthe of Germanie, for the guarde of his person. The prouinces adioyning unto Danubie being set in order, he passed into Thracia, and from thence into the lande of Macedonia: with determinatio to visite the natvie countrie of Alexander the great. All thinges wherin the actes of Alexander were grauen or painted, hee repaired, renewed, and made bettter: manie other thinges he did both adde and inuente, in such wise, that in al the kingdome of Macedonia there was neither citie or temple, where he did not erecte some edifice, or place some picture or counterfeite.

Bbi.

Baf.

Bassianus perfourmed manie notable things in Macedonia right worthy praise, and some other thinges no lesse to be derided: because in manie places he caused a bodie with two heads to be painted and also grauen, whereof one he intituled vnto him selfe, and the other vnto Alexander. The Macedonians did not a little scorne this aete, that Bassianus woulde compare with the greate Alexander: for they esteemed their kinge in suche possession and estate, that they say and affirme, neither ame in this life to be equall vnto him: either in the other worlde surmounted of nene of the Gods. Bassianus grewe so proude, when he sawe him self so generally praysed for his worthy actes done in Macedonia, that he commaunded al his househoulde, not to call hym Bassianus, but Alexander: and commaunded al the captaines of his armie, to intitule the selues vnto the names of Alexanders auncient captaines: whereof the Romanes received no small griece, and al the aunciente seruaunts of his father were not a little disgraced: for it seemed vnto them, y since he did not trusst them with the garde of his person, he woulde not loue them, either deale with them according vnto his accustomed manner. HEE woulde ofte put off all his Romaine apparell, and claddes him selfe after y Flemmish fashion: and further, the more aptly to resemble them, he woulde weare counterfeite red haire: and howe muche the more he vsed these thinges, so muche the greater was the griece vnto the Romanes. Also he obserued a custome, both in eating and drinking, in his apparell and seruice, as in all other trauels which all wayes followe the warres, but as a common soldiour. It happened manie times, that if a trench were to be made, he firste woulde digge, carrie forth earth, marche on foote, grinde breade corne for his owne diet, and bake it vnder the ashes.

HEE delighted in base lodging, to resemble the common soldiour, and woulde not drinke in golde or siluer, but in wooden tankards: finally, he did not onely abhorre all thinges that seemed superfluous: but also manie times, that

that which was right necessarie.

HEE commaunded also, that none shoulde attende him, except he were commaunded, or call hym Emperour, but companion: all whiche hee did to obtaine their leue, and to seeme admirable in his trauels. HEE commaunded his armie to be diuided into threec partes, and the one to be called Macedonike, the other Laconike, and the thirde Spartanike, in memorie of threec famous prouinces of Grecia, whiche followed the greate Alexander in all his wars, and the people which he esteemed most valiaunt and warlike.

From Macedonie hee tooke his way vnto Pergamus, a famous citie in Asia, to vewe y temple of Esculapius: the father and founder of physick, in which temple he slept manie nights: and as he afterwardes saide, received there manie aunswers of y God Esculapius, & many couisels, as well for conseruation of his health, as the gouernemente of his comon wealth. From Pergamus, Bassianus departed to the citie Ilion, that in times paste had beene head of the kingdome of Troy, where greate warres were long continued betwixt the Greeks and the Troyans, whiche hee founde not onelie destroyed, but also plowed and sown. Bassianus did there greatlye desire to burie some persone, after the fashion as in times past they had buried Patroclus: and for accomplishmente of his desire, he commaunded poysone to be giuen vnto Festus his priuate and fauoured seruaunt: whome, after he was deade, he buried there according to the fashion whiche the Troyans vsed with Patroclus: whiche fact of his some excuse, affirming that Festus died without Bassianus his commaundemente. Before y Bassianus entred high Almaine, he would visite Gallia Transalpina, & after a fewe dayes of his entraunce therin, commaunded y Proconsul of Narbona to be slaine: of which deede, as also of others which he executed he fel into y hatred of y comon people, & deserued y name of a tyrant. In his nauigatiō frō Germanie into Asia, he foun him self in so great danger, y ship it selfe wherin he sailed

did rent & sink, & he escaped in a little barke. He was strike with so greate feare on sea, that after he had escaped that daunger, he woulde oftentimes say: I knowe not what man hauing breade to eate, and garments to weare and couer him selfe on lande, woulde (to become an Emperour) go to Sea.

## CHAP. IX.

Of an horrible crueltie that Bassianus committed in Alexandria.

After that Bassianus had seene the greate Ilion, and the mosse parte of Asia and Bithynia, he came vnto the citie of Antioche, wher he was receiued w<sup>th</sup> great ceremonie: and all the time that he remained there, no lese feasted. From Antioche he tooke his way into Alexandrie, with greate desire to see that famous citie, which the greate Alexander had builte: whereof the citizens beeing aduertised, they made mosse solemne & costly preparation, where w<sup>th</sup> to receutre him, which never had beeene done to anie prince, either Greeke or Romaine: chiefly moued there vnto, because it was saide, that he was a frende vnto Alexander. Manie dayes before Bassianus came vnto the citie, they repaired the bridges, amended the high wayes, furnished all places with victuuales, made manie summer houses with boughes, and scattered all the wayes with flowers: and further, all his traine did take all thinges at their owne pleasure, without paymente of anie money. But when he arrined in the citie, generally the Alexandrines came soorth to receutre him, in mosse gorgeous apparell, accompanied with instruments and manie kindes of musick. Presently at his entrie into Alexandrie, he went on foote vnto the temples: where he offered verie greate sacrifices, and burned therein great quantites of incense, myrrhe, aloes, and suche other fumes.

This beeing done, hee went to visite the sepulchre of the

the greate Alexander, wher he vsed an imperiall magnis-  
tence, that is to wete, he put off a most rich robe wher-  
with he was clad, he tooke from his cappe a brooch of  
greate price, a curious collar from his necke, from his  
breste a stone of value inestimable, and from his fingers  
all his rings: & kneeling vpon y<sup>e</sup> ground did offer the same  
vpon the sepulchre of the greate Alexander. Incredibl  
was the toy that the Alexandrines conceiued, to behold a  
luing prince of Rome, to haue a Greeke prince whch was  
deade in so greate veneration: in respect whereof, they  
loued him with all their hartes, and serued him with all  
their power.

All whiche thinges Bassianus performed, not of intente  
to honour Alexander, or to pleasur the Alexandrines: but  
with more certintie to assure him selfe of them all, and  
afterwardes ioyntlie to kill them all. Manie dayes had  
past, since Bassianus had borne greate hatred vnto the  
Alexandrines and the occasion of his vnkindnesse was, be-  
cause it was saide, that they scorned him with words, and  
also derided him in enterludes: saying, it was a scoffing  
matter for him to make cōparison w<sup>th</sup> Alexander, to name  
him selfe Achilles, and to imitate Hercules. Also Bassi-  
anus vnderstoode howe they had muche despised him, for  
y<sup>e</sup> death of his brother Geta, & laide their youngs vpon his  
owne mother, notinge her vnhaltitie; which iniuries hee  
wanted not skill to dissemeble manie dayes, & after to re-  
uenge the same at an instant.

The case was thus: the feasts beeing finished, he com-  
manded proclamation to be made, that al the lustie young  
men, either straungers, or natives of the countrie, shoulde  
muster in a fielde, to the ende he would see, viewe, and al-  
so arme them after y<sup>e</sup> olde manner: saying, that fr<sup>d</sup> thence  
soorth his will was, that al his men of warre should fight,  
not after the order of the Romanes, but according to the  
fashion of the Greekes.

Create glorie, and also vaine glorie possessed the A-  
lexandrines, when they hearde these proclamations: and

he that might soonest, came first into the fielde : conci-  
uing, that such as were the wordes of the crier, such shoule  
be the workes of the Emperour. All the ycuth of Alex-  
andria remaining in the fielde, Bassianus with all his ar-  
mee in armour issned forth to beholde them, and he com-  
maunded to bring them selues into a square, to yend, that  
one by one, shoulde passe before him, of whome he woulde  
take his choyce and presently after give them armour.

Solwe when the miserable Alexandrines stode all as  
shepe together unarmed, Bassianus gaue a signe vnto  
his soldiours, to gine the charge as vpon enimies : who in  
their slaughter made so great halfe, that within an houre,  
those fieldes were all couered, not with flowers, but with  
dead bodies.

Great was the hurte that Bassianus committed that  
day vpon the Alexandrines: for that he leste the widoles  
without sonnes, graundfathers without nephues, vncles  
without cousins, brethen without brethen, and neigh-  
bours without friends: in such wise, that none remained  
that was not slaine, or else tormentted with the death of  
others. The place where Bassianus committed this greate  
treason, and so inhumaine craultie, was in a bzoade plaine  
fielde neare vnto the greate riuier Nilus: and the number  
was so greate of them which were slaine, that the blonde  
by streames ranne through those fieldes, and stayned and  
died that riuier Nilus: in such extreme manner, that that  
so stately a riuier seemed not to rumme with water, but with  
blonde. The Alexandrines may not be excused of their  
faulfe, in speaking euill of Bassianus, defaming his mo-  
ther, & representing his vile factes in enterludes. Admit-  
ting that of euil we can speake but euill, yet princes enter  
not into this reckoning, whose workes we haue licence to  
judge onely in our hartes, but not with the toung to blas-  
phemie and despise them.

And albeit the offence of the Alexandrines was verie  
great, yea, though it had bene much greater, yet without  
comparison, muche more vehement was the craultie that  
Bassianus did execute on them: which if he had bene, as he  
ought to haue bene, the contrarie he would haue perfor-  
med: for In the houses of heroycall and excellent princes,  
chastisement is giuen by ounces, and clemencie without  
measure.

## C H A P. X.

Of a letter which Bassianus did write vnto  
to the kinge of Parthians to haue his  
daughter in marriage.

I T seemed vnto Bassianus, that to robbe temples, to sacke  
townes, to subuert walles, and to kill the whole neigh-  
bourhood of Alexandrie, was but a smal matter, in respect  
of his vile and cruell conditions wherwith he was inclined:  
and to this ende he determined to attempt so rare and obi-  
ous a treason, y all men which shoulde haue or reade ther-  
of, might counte his craultie past but a trifle. Euen as a-  
mongst such as be vertuous, one vertue awaketh another  
vertue: so amongst the wicked, one euill or mischiefe  
draweth with it another mischiefe: in such wise, that there  
are some persons so vowed vnto euill and mischiefe, that  
without delaie fall into the profunditie of all manner of  
vice and mischiefe. The case was thus, that Bassianus see-  
ing himselfe in the East parte, had a desire to make a  
conquest of the Parthians: and for that he durste not make  
them warre openly, he remembred to devise a trea-  
son for them in secreat. So much more vile was the facte,  
as small was y occasion which moued him to commit the  
same: for at that present the Parthians with the Romanes,  
& the Romanes with the Parthians, were in greate friend-  
ship, and confederacie.

Without aduise of parentes, friends, or counseler, Bas-  
sianus sente a greate Ambassage vnto Arthabanus king of  
Parthia, sending also manie and rich iuels, and writinge  
with his owne hande a letter after this manner.

*Bassianus Antoninus, onely Em-*  
perour of the Romanes, to Arthabanus  
the greate king of Parthians, health,  
and good fortune.  
(. . .)

The famous auncient Romanes, and many of the principall of my predecessours, came from the West into Asia, onely to make warre yppon this thy kingdome: but I come not to make thee warre, but to seek peace, and to this peace, both thou & I haue to search a meane, that it may be perpetuall: for otherwise, a iust warre were more safe for princes, then a fayned peace. As wee read in booke, and heare of our forefathers, there is not a more briefe and sounde waye, for greate enimies to growe to bee faithfull friendes, then by recouering newe alliance by the waye of mariage: for in true and faithfull marriages, as the married be ioyned in bodies: so be they lincked and confederate in heartes and mindes. Although some Princes haue married with the daughters of Consuls and Senatours, and admitting they haue so done, I will not so doe: for that I was borne a prince, and am a prince, and will dye a prince: wherefore, I will not marrie but with the daughter of a Prince. When congruently or aptly it may be done, it agreeeth not with the maestic of the Empire, that the Prince this day should holde him for his father in lawe, whome he helde yesterday for his vassall. Although the wiues of Princes vse not to com-  
maunde and gouerne, yet we must graunt, that when  
Princesses

Princesses be the daughters of high Princes, and descended of royll bloud, the people and subiectes are more honoured, satisfied, and pleased: and such bring foorth children more noble and generous. The Empire of the Romanes, and the Empire of the Parthians, are two the moste renoumed Princes throughout the whole worlde: for notwithstanding the one at times hath subdued the other: yet neuer intirely had the one lordship of the other. I am prince of the Romanes, and thou art Prince of the Parthians: if thou wilt marrie thy daughter with mee, with greate good will I would matche with her: and after this manner, of two diuided Empires wee shall make one in concorde. These two Empires beeing ioyned, may there be any kingdome that will disobey them? or any king that shall dare to saye against them? I demaunde not thy daughter for her beautie, for there are others muche fairer in mine Empire: neither doe I request her for thy richesse, for I haue sufficient, neither doe I craue her, to recouer more vassals: for I haue kingdomes yngough subiecte vnto mee. But I do it, because of auncient enimies, wee might frame our selues immortall friendes: in such wise, that as hitherto we haue had you in contempt, as barbarians, from henceforth wee shall behaile our selues as brethren.

Thincke not that I write this vnto thee, by thy fauour to be reuenged of mine enimies: or, for that my kingdomes haue rebellled against mee (as thou shalte vnderstande by these mine Ambassadours) which my father lefte vnto mee so plaine, and their Princes so dedicated to obedience, that they doe not onely accomplishe what I commaunde them, but

Bb.v. also

also request mee to iaioyne them more.

If in this which I write to thee, thou thinkest there be deceipte, thou oughtest also to conceiue, that I shal bee most deceiued: partly, for that beeing (as I am) a Romane Prince, and partly, because I am the person whiche sueth: for that in this mariage thou aduenturtest not more then thy daughter: but I committe vnto Fortune, mine honour, goods, and person. Herein I will saye no more, but I praye thee to receiue these iewelles which I sende thee in good parte: and to that which mine Ambassadours shall saye, give credite.

The king of the Parthians, after he had read this letter, and hearde the Ambassadours what they had to saye in the behalfe of Bassianus, did aunswere him after this manner.

### CHAP. XI.

¶ Of another solemne letter, wherein the  
king of the Parthians aun-  
swered Bassianus.

*Arthabanus, king of the auncient  
kingdome of the Parthians, to Antoni-  
nus Bassianus, the onely Ro-  
mane Emperour,  
health, & pro-  
speritie,*

Before

Before all things, I giue thankes vnto the immor-tall Gods, because they haue put into thy heart, that which thou hast written: and that which thou with thy Ambassadours hast sent to saye vnto vs. By that which I haue read in thy letters, and hearde of thy Ambassadours, I knowe that thou belevest in the Gods, and hast not taken counsell of men: for men alwayes giue counsell vnto Princes to make warre: but the Gods alwayes persuade them to keepe peace. Thou sayest that the Romane Princes, thy predeces-sours, alwayes passed into Asia, with a minde deter-mined to make warre with the Parthians: but ioyntly herewith, I wold thou shouldest consider, that as the warre which ye tooke in hand against vs was vni-just, so fortune was vnto them, alwayes vnsfortu-nate: for it is not the will of the Gods, that by an vni-just warre, an entrie victories should be obteined. Ye Romanes tooke the enterprise to be Lordes of the whole worlde: and to prosecute the same, ye rigged foorth many nauies and fleetes, ye ioyned greate ar-mies, conquered straunge provinces, destroyed many kingdomes, killed much people, robbed infinite treasures, and aduentured your selues into great and immeasurable daungers: and in the ende, that which they had obteyned, they lost, yea, the conquerours also lost them selues: because, whatsoeuer is gotten to the prejudice of another man, is lost to the greate hurte & offence of him that obteined the same. That which thou promisest in thy letter, and in thy name thy Ambassadours offer mee, I am not onely bound to accepte, but also deserued greate displeasure, if I durst denie the same: because it is a thinge moste iuste, that the Goddes make warre vpon that

þ prince, which refuseth the request of men in peace. Thou sayest that the chiofest meane to cōfirme peace is, for princes to practise marriage betwixt theselues. I denie not, but that in some persons it is moste true, but it is no generall rule for all men: for we daily see betwixte moste neare kinred and alices, moste greate quarelles and scardals to arise. My greate graund-father was father in lawe vnto kinge Arsacidas, and afterwardes the one slewe the other in þ field: and þ verie same we heare reported to haue chaunced amongst you: Pompey married with the daughter of Iulius, and afterwardes Iulius ouercame and destroyed Pompey his sonne in lawe: in suche wise, that the mariages which they made to conserue peace, did awake and inflame them to more cruell warre. The Prince that hath feare of the Goddes, and is natural-licgiuen to peace, may not finde a better meane to obtaine the same, thē to be quiet in his owne realme: for, speakinge the verie trueth, the prince that is satisfied with his owne proper estate, needeth not to seekc affinitie in straunge kingdomes. Vnto my father were offered greate, noble, and mightie mariages frō straunge kingdomes: whereunto he woulde nevere consent, either hardely indure to haere thereof: and woulde ofte say vnto me, that manie kinges and kingdomes he had scene lost by mariage in straunge countries, and therefore woulde not marrie me, but within his owne kingdome: and saide, at the houre of his death, that if I woulde liue manie yeares in peace, I shoulde not abandon my children to straunge mariages.

I had three sonnes, whiche nowe bee all deade, and there remaineth vnto me but only one daughter,

in whome remaineth all my hope: and if the Gods woulde, and my destinies permitte, I woulde giue her an husbande within mine owne naturall countrie, whome I might esteem as my sonne, and he me as his father: for my intent, is, not to giue her an husband that hath much goods, but in his person greate worthinesse.

To that which thou sayest, of the kingdoms of Parthians, & the Empire of Romanes, would do verie wel to be ioyned in one: thou hast great reason in that which þ sayest, if it might be done with as great facilitie, as it is spoken: but how is it possible they may be made one, being(as they are) so strange in nation? so distant in situation? so distinct in language? so diuers in lawes? and aboue all the restē, so contrarie in conditions? Since betwixt you and vs, there are so manie landes, countries, nations, hills, and seas; howe is it possible, the bodies beeing so distante, that the harts may be vnted? Wee are much better knowne vnto the Godds, then wee knowe our selues: and since they haue created vs, and separated vs, the one from the other: howe is it possible for vs to liue, and enioy together? for by greate diligence that men may vse, either power that princes may practise, it is impossible for them to scatter that, whiche the Godds do gather together: or to ioyne that whiche they do separate.

If thou wilte haue men for thy warres, I wil sende them! If thou wilt haue money to enrich thy treasure, I will furnishe thee! If þ wilt enter peace with mee, I will graunte it! If thou wilte that wee be brothers in armes, by othe I will confirme it! Finally, I excepte nothing betwixte thee and mee, but that thou do

do not craue my daughter to wife: I am determined, & wil not, for giuing my daughter a good mariage, leaue my countrie tributarie vnto straunge people. The precious iuells and greate riches which thou sentest me, I haue receiued with greate good will, and I sende thee others, although not such, either so riche: neuerthelesse thou mayest alwayes cōceiue by them, that the kinges of the Parthians, haue greate treasures in their keeping, and no leſſe noblenesse of minde to spende them. No more, but the Goddes be thy defence, and that thou of me, and I of thee may ſee good fortune.

## CHAP.XII.

Howe Bassianus committed a greate treason  
against the Parthians.

This letter being received by Bassianus, he made ſemblance of greate ſorwōe, that the kinge of Parthians would not giue him his daughter to wife: howbeit, he ceaſed not therefore eftſones to write, & ſende moſe preſents, to bringe to paſſe by impoſtūties, that which of will he might not frame. Arthabanus conſidering the impoſtūties of Bassianus in writinge, and his largelſe in ſending moſe riche iuells, not doubting y anie guile might be concealed in that marriage, did yealde him ſelſe vnto the iudgments of his friendes: who counſelled him, that hee ſhoulde not in anie wiſe, but accept the Emperour of Romaines for his ſonne in lawe: for it might be, that hee ſhoulde reconuer him for an enemie, that would not accept him for a ſonne. The ſame beeing ſpread throughout all Asia

Asia, that the kinges daughter ſhoulde marrie with the Emperour of Rome, Bassianus aduised to repaire and prepare with all ſpeeđe: ſo that in all cities of the Parthians where he paſſed, they did not only not reſiſte him, but with greate ioy did receive and feaſt him: for they helde it for great vaine glorie, to ſee their princiſſe demaunded for wife by the great Emperour of Rome. In all places where Bassianus paſſed, he offered riche ſacrifices in their temples, and gaue greate rewardes vnto ſuſhē as diſtende and receive him: all whiche he diſembled, to escape ſuſpicion of the exceeding malice, whiche he determined to execute. Bassianus beeing arrived at the greate citie Parthinia, where moſt times the greate kinge of Parthians was reſidente: Arthabanus iſſued forſt to receive his ſonne Bassianus, who moſt truly ranne forſt, as conformable vnto peace, as Bassianus readie and determined for the warres. There iſſued forſt with kinge Arthabanus, not only the noble and valiaunt personages of his house and courte, but also all the men of power and wealth of his kingdome, which againſt that day were caſled and diſtende: in ſuſhē, y by his traine y kinge diſcouered his valure, as also the noblenesse of his people. Nowe when the Parthians beganne to ioyne with the Romaines, and of both partes greate courtesies offered, Bassianus gaue a ſigne vnto his armeſt kniȝtſ, to give a charge vpon the Parthians, vpon whome they exectuted as greate a ſlaughter, as Hamibal at Canalle, and Scipio at Carthage. The kinge Arthabanus as he came in the troupe of all his royltie, tooke his ſeruants horſe, and gaue him ſelſe to flight: and then as it was night, & his horſe verie wiſt, he had leaſure to escape with his liſe; althoſh not able to deſende his countrie.

This beeing donne, he ſackt the royll palace, and al the citie, and after comauaunded fire to be giuen to all partes thereof, whiche he perſonned in all cities where he paſſed, all the time that he remained in Parthia: and freely gaue licence vnto his armeſt, to take what they might, & to kill whome they would. This was y manner y Bassianus

Bassianus vsed, to subdue the Parthians: whiche conquest with more reason may be termed y inuention of a traytour, then the conquest of an Emperour: for the innocent Parthians were rather solde, then ouercome. At the prelente when these thinges passed, Bassianus did write unto the Senate: aduertisinge them that hee had subdued all prouinces and kingdomes of the East vnto the Romaine Empire: some by force, and others by good will: and that althoough the Romane princes, his pzedecessours, did excede him in yeares and riches: yet not to be comparable unto him in victories. The Senate being ignorant of the greate treason of Bassianus practised against the Parthians (because they received his letters, before anie other messenger had made reporte thereof) were verie ioyfull, and made greate feastes in Rome, placing his counterfeit vpon all the gates of the citie: but after they understood the trueth of the treason committed, they were so muche grieved with that so vyle a deede, that if the Parthians did suffer, the Romanes did bewayle.

## CHAP. XLI.

How Bassianus was slaine by the commauns  
demente of his priuate captaine  
Macrinus.

The Emperour Bassianus beeing departed from the territories of Parthia, came vnto the prouince of Mesopotamia, which was in the moneth of October: and beeinge full of woodes wherin were bred manie wilde beastes, he woulde remaine in the thickest thereof: for that he was more gien to chace in mountaines, then to hawke in fieldes.

The captaines of Bassianus armie were two Romanes, named Audentius, and Macrinus. Audentius was a rustical person, as concerning maters of y common wealth: but verie expert & valiaunt in warrelike affaires. Macrinus con-

contrarywise, in gouerning the common wealth, was wise and skilfull: but in martiall affaires, somewhat negligent, and not ouer fortunate. Bassianus did like very well of Audentius, and no lesse euill of Macrinus, and did not only wishe, but also said of him much euill: murmuring that hee was negligent, a coward, vitious, an epicure, a glutton that did eate much, and drinke not a little: and that at his comming to Rome, he woulde remoue him from all charge in matters of warre. Macrinus was a man very wel learned, and in his speach no lesse refoymed: and in all thinges that they said unto him, touching that which Bassianus shold speake of him, he awnswere: that whatsoeuer his god lord had said of him, was spoken of great affection, not to the end to defame him as an enimie, but to correcce him as a sonne. Although Macrinus vsed this speach openly, yet he had other matter in his hart secretly, as afterwards in the successe of affaires it manifestly appeared: for, at such time as Bassianus woulde haue remoued Macrinus from his honour and estate, Macrinus dispatched him of his life.

The case was thus, that Bassianus being inclined of his owne proper nature, to knowe secretes, not onely of men, but also of Gods, and diuels, alwayes fearing himselfe, that by practise of some treason, they woulde take away his life, hee was never void of the conuersation of Sozcerers, soothsayers, and inchanters, to aduertise him how long hee shoulde live, and what death hee shoulde die. Not satisfied with such Magicians, soothsayers, sozcerers, and inchanters, as did attend on his person in the warres, hee woulde send vnto the Prefect of Rome named Maternianus, to whome Bassianus committed the credite of his secretes: writinge a letter unto him with his owne proper hande, commaunding him, with great diligence and secrecie, to assemble Magicians, Sozcerers, Soothsayers, Inchanters, and Astrologians, to knowe of them, not onely how long he shoulde live, and how he shoulde die: but also to demaund of them, if there were any person within the Empire, that

desired or procured to be Emperour. Maternianus per-  
med all that, whiche his Lord Bassianus had written vnto  
him: whether it were any magician or sothslayer that said  
it, either any enimie of Macrinus finding opportunitie for  
his purpose: Maternianus did write and aduertise Bassia-  
nus, that he had assembled all the sorcerers, incanters, di-  
uiners, magicians, sothesayers, astrologians and augurs:  
and that the resolution of their counsell was, that if hee  
would enjoy h Empire, it were conuenient that Macrinus  
were slaine. At the instant when the post returned w his  
letters from Rome, Bassianus was placed in his coche,  
to go forth on hunting: & not remembraunce what he had writ-  
ten, either presuming what might be written, said vnto Ma-  
crinus, that he should open and read them all: and if that he  
found therin matter of great importance, to consult therin:  
and al other smal matters, that he himselfe should prouide  
aunsweare, and dispatch. Macrinus reading these letters, as  
wel such as were written vnto Bassianus, as vnto himself,  
came also to read the letter of Maternianus, wherin he ad-  
uertised Bassianus of the aunsweare whiche the magicians  
had giuen him, whiche is to say, that presently it were con-  
uenient that Macrinus should be put to death: whereof he  
was not a little abashed, holding it for great godd hap, that  
this secrete had chaunced into his onely handes, before any  
other person: for, at the instant that Bassianus might have  
read this letter, he would haue comauanded Macrinus his  
head to flee from his shoulders. Macrinus doubting, that  
Maternianus might returne to write of the former matter  
vnto Bassianus, and that, were it but for concealing that let-  
ter, hee would shorthen him by the shoulders, aduised to  
practise the death of Bassianus, before he should experiment  
the same on him. Amongest them that garded the person of  
Bassianus, there was one Martianus, who accordinly had  
a brother also of his guard (him for a small displeasure Bas-  
sianus comauanded to be slaine) and with Martianus vied  
words of great despite: in such maner, that Martianus w  
those words remayned disgraced, & of his brothers death  
grieved

grieved and afflited. After Macrinus vnderstoode this pas-  
sion to reigne in Martianus against Bassianus, hee first  
entered with him in familiaritie, and gat him siluer and  
gold, receiued him into his friendship, and every day lead  
him into remembrance of the vnjust death of his brother:  
to the ende hee should not growe cold, but hote in hatred a-  
gainst Bassianus. Now when Macrinus felt, that by his  
benefites he had recovered Martianus for his fauful frie[n]d,  
and brought him into great disdaine and mortall hatred of  
Bassianus, he grew to cōposition to deprive him of his life,  
for whiche deede, his reward shoule be great: whereof Mar-  
tianus did take great delighte, and bound himselfe to per-  
forme the same: partly to revenge the death of his brother,  
as also to condescend vnto the request of his friend Macri-  
nus. Bassianus being resident in Careuca a citie of Meso-  
potamia, came forth to visite a temple of the Goddesse Lu-  
na, two miles distant from the citie: and being constrainyd  
vpon the way, to vnburden his bellie, hee entered the  
thickest of the court, accompanied but with one seruaunt:  
and Martianus that attended but opportunitie to accōplish  
his promise, entered vpon Bassianus being withdrawen  
into the thickest of the shrubs, prosecuting his ne cessitie al  
alone, Martianus strake him with a launce downe flat vpon  
the ground: whiche wound was so mortall, that with-  
out more woordes, or strength to moue, where the launce  
went in, the life came out. After that Martianus had slaine  
Bassianus, he tooke his hose and fled: but as the imperiall  
guard was at hand, within a leage he was overtaken, and  
slaine with launces: in such wise, that after hee had taken  
reuengement of his enimie, he enjoyed his life but one hour.  
This was the end of the vnhappy Emperour Bassianus,  
whose life did merite a slaughterous death: for that it was  
not unreasonable, that he which had kild so many friends,  
by treason shoule be slaine with enimies.

The life of the  
CHAP. XIII.

¶ How Macrinus excusing himselfe of the  
death of Bassianus, did aduaunce  
himselfe with the Empire.

¶ The selfe same day that Antoninus Bassianus was  
borne, which was the eight of Aprill, he was slaine,  
xxiiii. yeares of his age being accomplished, and vs. yeares of  
his Empire and reigne expired. The first man that came  
vnto him after he was slaine, was Macrinus, who bewai-  
led his death with so great dissimulation, as if he had not  
beene the man that procured so vile a deede. Macrinus was  
right fortunate that Martianus was slaine when hee was  
taken: for all men thought and also said, that Martianus  
had slaine his Lord Bassianus, not by inducemente of any  
person, but to reuenge his brothers death. Many others  
were of this conspiracie besids Macrinus, that ordeyned it,  
and Martianus that sought y same: y is to say Nemesianus  
& his brother Apolinarius, Renonius & Agrippa, al which  
had sworen his death: some for iniurie which they had re-  
cieued, & others for seruice vntrecompensed. Presently vpon  
Bassianus his death, Macrinus commaundered his body  
to be burnt, and his ashes to be placed in a coffin of gold: &  
so with great gard, and no lesse accompaned, hee sente the  
same vnto Iulia his mother in law, being then at Antioch:  
who at the instante when she vnderstoode Bassianus to be  
dead, dranke a little poison, wherewith she finished her life.  
The case stading in this estate, newes arriued at the Ro-  
maine campe, that Arthabanus king of Parthians pursued  
Antoninus Bassianus, to exetute vengeance for the iniurie  
which he had received: and to the same end, the king & his  
knights, before they came to the field, made a bole vnto  
their Gods, never moxe to returne with life, before they  
had slaine the Emperour Bassianus. The Romances beheld  
themselves in great confusion, on the one parte, fides-  
ing themselves in so straunge a Countrie wyth-

Emperour Bassianus. 373

out hope of succour, and also for the death of their prince  
and their enimie so neare at hand: to repaire and remedie  
whiche mischiese, with great diligence they elected a prince  
named Audentius, a man of honest life, and of great expe-  
rience in the warres: which he refused, alledging for him-  
selfe, age and sickenesse: and that of his election hee might  
not gather but trauel & offence vnto the common wealth.  
Two dayes was the armie without an Emperour, and in  
the end vpon Audentius his refusall, they elected Macrinus  
for Emperour, which election did rather proceed of ne-  
cessitie, then of will: because their Parthian enimies were  
very neare, & the wo:thie persons of the Empire very farre.  
Aboue wee made mention of Iulia, the mother in law vnto  
Bassianus: this Ladie being a widow, and resident in the  
Court, in the summer time Bassianus beheld her at a feaste,  
as she was, halse naked, and inflamed with her loue said  
vnto her these wordes, If it were possible to renounce this  
name mother, which I owe thee: from henceforth I would  
call thee wife, Iulia aunswere: If thou wilt, thou mayest,  
because princes haue authoritie to make lawes, but are not  
bound to obserue them. And as in Bassianus loue did a  
bound: so finding in Iulia a readie minde, presently he mar-  
ried with her: in such wise, that vnto patricide he added in-  
cest: that is to say, that having slaine his brother Geta, al-  
so he married his fathers wife.

Bassianus naturally was euil inclined: and if his father  
were cruell, he was most cruell: in eating disordinate, in  
drinking vntemperate: for many times in his excesse of  
drinke, he would talke at large. From his infancie he was  
hated of all persons, no lesse of his owne, then of strangers,  
the Praetorian knights onely excepted: which was not for  
the benefites, that of him they had received: but for the li-  
bertie which he gaue them to robb and steale. Some no-  
table buildinges hee erected in Rome, especially certaine  
stately bathes, which hee named after his owne name, in  
ghe and curiosnes exceeding all workes and buildinges in  
Rome. He made also a gate in Rome, & called it Scutianas,

in the  
C. 13.

in the reverence of the name of his father Seuerus: wherin he caused to be grauen al the victories and triumphes that his father had obteined, either after or before he was Emperour. Hee was the first that brought vnto Rome the image of the Goddesse Isis: vnto whome he edifted a sumptuous temple, and therein did constitute priestes. He left no child either legitimate or not legitimate, but Heliogabalus, whom he had by a neece of his mother Iulia, of whom we will speake in the historie following.

*The life of the Emperour Heliogabalus, compiled by sir Anthoine of Gueuara, Bishop of Mondonnedo, preacher, chronicler, and counsellor vnto the Emperour Charles the fifte.*

## CHAP. I.

¶ Of the linage and nouriture of the Emperour Heliogabalus.

**H**is second wife of Seuerus was named Iulia, which was mother vnto Geta, and mother in lawe vnto Bassianus: this Iulia, when she was married vnto Seuerus, brought vnto Court with her an elder sister, named Mesia, a woman of proportion suffisant faire and comely, but of condition very wilie. This Mesia had with her two daughters, whereof the elder was named Semiamira, and the yonger Manea: both borne in the Emperour Seuerus his Courte, and bred and nourished a long time after in the house of the Emperour Bassianus. The writers of those times do not name, wher was the husband of Mesia, and the father of Semiamira, &

of

of Manea: and therefore doubted to be conceiued in adulterie, or that the father was of linage obscure.

Mesia remayning in the Court of Seuerus with her two daughters, being young & very faire, Bassianus the sonne of Seuerus had accessse vnto Semiamira, and begate of her a sonne named Antoninus Caracalla: and for the loue of Iulia his aunt, and also to the end the damosell should not bee despised in the sighte of Seuerus, the graundmother vled so great skill in this busines, that no person of the Courte might perceiue the daughter to be with child, or brought a bed: or whether y child was put forth to be nourised. The auncient linage of this woma Mesia, was of Phoenicia, & borne she was in a citie called Mesania, neere vnto whiche place (in times past) a battell had bene fought, betwene y Rhodians and the Phoenicians. Antoninus Caracalla on the fathers side, was sonne vnto the Emperour Bassianus, and on the mothers side sonne of Semiamira: and conceiued in adulterie. Wher y child was five yeares of age, he was brought vnto the Courte, and there bred & nourished with the mother and graundmother: but all the dayes that Bassianus liued, they neuer durst say that it was his sonne: because Iulia his aunt and mother in lawe to Bassianus, had married with the selfe same Bassianus: and if she had knownen the child to be such, she would haue slaine it, banished her neece, & sent away her sister. This woman Mesia was so wile, & prouident, that in the reigne of Seuerus, at Court all men did serue her, & after in the dayes of Bassianus shee commauded and gouerned all thinges at her owne pleasure: and this was in such extreame wile, y with her he did take counsel for the affaires of the comon wealth, and shee did alwayes accompanie him, whither soever he went out of Rome, although it were vnto the warres. This Mesia was frank of speach, & of no great reformation of life, howbeit very skilful in al things whiche she aduentured to take in hand: for notwithstanding al ymen had of her great suspicio, yet they were fewe y attayned vnto her secrete drifts. Although on the one part, she was accused to be lewd & loose

of life, yet on the other shēe was praised, because shēe was very wise in all thinges wherein shee gaue counsell: which most clearely appeared, for that in the 16. yeares in which she remained in the Courte and manours of those princes (who by her iudgement and opinion were gouerned) shēe was never seene to twite or reproue any person with her tongue: or giue counsel in any thing that offended the common wealth. Being (as she was) siste unto Iulia the Empresse, and so accepted with those princes, this Mesia was marueilous riche: and the cause thereof was, that all god thinges which were vacant in the Empire she craved, and whatsoeuer was giuen her shēe received. The second daughter of this Mesia, named Manea, maried with a Cōsul named Verius, and brought him forth a sonne, then named Alexius, but afterwards Alexander the Emperour: in such wise, that this Mesia had one sister, an Empresse: & sawe her two nephues Emperours. Mesia doubting that some day it might come to the notice of Iulia her sister, that Antoninus Caracalla was the sonne of her husband Bassianus, aduised to send both her nephues unto her owne pro-  
per countrie of Phoenicia, there to hold them more safe, and better taught. In the prouince of Phoenicia was a most sumptuous temple, dedicated unto the God Heliogabalus, the workmanship whereof was wrought all of sa-  
wen stome, as if it had beene timber, in the ioyning whereof their appeared no seame, but all me iudged (that knew not that secrete) that the whole temple had beene made of one stome. There was not in that temple, as was in other tem-  
ples, which is to wit, any image or simulachre of any God: but that which it conteyned, was a blacke shining stome, great & large beneath, and vpwards more narrow, where-  
in was grauen the Sunne and the Moone, right curiously & subtilly, which in viewe and beholding did dazill the eyes of men. The people of Phoenicia did report, that the tem-  
ple was made by mans hand, but the stome was sent by the Gods from heauen: for which cause they offered vpon the same, siluer, gold, jewels, and other great riches: and it was

was visited, not onely by the natives of Phoenicia, but al-  
so from many partes of Asia.

In that temple, there were not onely priestes, but also Philosophers: to the ende that some should sacrifice, and others teache and resourme maners: because that temple was indued with so great riches, that there was sufficient both for the one & the other. Heliogabalus being of y<sup>e</sup> age of xiij. yeres, and his cousin Alexius of the age of twelue yeres, their graundmother Mesia placed them in that temple, to enure them to offer sacrifices, & to learne Philosophie. These two brethren went apparalled after the manner of two Priestes, which is to weare, in shutes of Linsey woolsey, their garments of gold and cotton, their sleeves buttoned with Corall, their robes trailing, their heades couered with silke calles, about their neckes collars of golde, their fete bare vpon the instep, leaden ringes vpon their little fingers, and ringes of golde vpon their thumbes: but aboue al the rest, they might not eate but in their houses: either sleepe but in their temples. And because Antoninus was Priest, and brought vp in the temple of the God Heliogabalus, that is to saye, a Priest of the Sunne, he was afterwardes named Antoninus Heliogabalus: and also many dayes after that he was exaltes vnto the height of the Empire, he kepte the garments, and received the stipend of his auncient priest hood. Heliogabalus was of meane stature, redde haired, white faced, small mouthed, shorte legged, and largely bearded: and as at that time he was young and faire, and his sacerdotall vestimentes did so adourne him: although the secrete of his parentage was vnownen, yet all men presupposed that he was of noble bloud.

## CHAP. II.

Howe capteine Macrinus did exalt him selfe with the Empire, after the death of Bassianus.

After that Martianus had slaine Bassianus his Lorde, through the counsell of Macrinus, presently he exalted him selfe, or (to saye better) did tyzannize the Empire: neuerthelesse, the armes elected him, and the Romanes allowed him: not because they were pleased with Macrinus, but for ioy to see them selues free and deliuered of Bassianus.

So generall was the ioye amongst the Romane people, to see Bassianus dead, that they cared not to consider of Macrinus that shold succeede, whether he were god or bad: because, heartes that be tormented, and men that be despighted, when they hap to oppresse their enemies, consider not so much of their profite, as they respect their reuengement. Tenne dayes after Macrinus salue him selfe Emperour, Arthabanus king of the Parthians gaue him battell, to reuenge the inturie which Bassianus had done vnto him: this battell betwixt both partes was so contended and so bloudie, that the victorie on that daye remained on neither side: yet least was the losse vnto the Romanes. Arthabanus being aduertised of the death of his enimie Bassianus, and his choler also somelwhat alaid, made peace with the Romanes, and with his armes retired into his countrey. After Macrinus behelde him selfe elected, and confirmed Emperour, and king Arthabanus returned vnto his kingdome, and that in all Asia, not so much as a lance in the rest against him, he departed to the citie of Antioche: not of any intent to refourme his armie, but of purpose totally to vowe him selfe vnto vices and filthinesse.

The case was thus, that being settled in Antioche, he gaue hede vnto no other matter, but to the vse of the Bath, trimming his head, anoynting his bearde, going on hunting, prosecuting gluttonie and excesse, giuing him selfe vnto women: and that which was woorst, he fledde from affaires, and followed vices.

When at any time Macrinus did issue forth, to viewe his

his men of warre, he walked not with a lance, but with a Caane in his hande, which they helde for no small iniurie: for that amongst them it was a lawe, that none might passe through their bandes except he were armed, with some armour.

It was a lawe muche vsed and obserued amongst the Romanes, that their Princes did neuer enter armed into the Senate, either unarmed did viewe their Campes and armes: since in the one they did manage matters of peace, and in the other nothing but warres. Macrinus heard by reporte, that the god Marcus Aurelius spake sildome, and with lowe voice: and so he vsed for resemblance to auctoritie sutors, with fewe wordes, and verie base: in such wise, that in his speache he did imitate Marcus Aurelius, and in his life did resemble Nero. With none of the Antiochians, either with any person of all Asia, did he consent to haue conference, or to be serued at his table, either enter into his chamber, or sleepe in his house: but after the manner of a tyraunt, with his owne he stode vpon his guarde, and with straungers not a little suspicuous.

Auncient persons, his olde horsemen, and the Capaines of his armes, he woulde not commaund to stande vp, although they had long continued vpon their knees: either to put on their cappes, when they stode bareheaded: wherein, the Romane Princes alwayes vsed greate measure and consideration: for that curtesie costeth littele, and profiteth much.

The money which Macrinus received of his rents, or were presented him from the cities, he consumed them all in vices: and on the other parte, he woulde neither paye what he owed, or succour his men of warre: in suche wise, that the people stode in despaire, and the armes (for want of paye) no lesse despighted.

The Romanes were afflicted with no small griefe, to beholde the tyraunt Macrinus in all his deedes and attempts, and to see howe the Asians despised him: for they frankly

frankly saide, that he did not inherite, but they did electe him Emperour: and their fact to be imputed with greater indignitie, that had chosen a person of so great vnworthinesse. In his apparell, in his diet, and in all his manners and fashions, Macrinus would needes imitate, not the Romanes, but the Asians: which the Romanes received with great griefe, and the Asians with no lesse ignominie: for that so euil a person wold needes resemble the. For so muche as there were no warres in Asia, or in all the East, either by sea or lande, the Romane armies would have returned to Rome, but Macrinus wold not consent: doubting (as they were discontented) that they shold ioyne with the Senate, and determine to depose him from the Empire. Macrinus was muche blamed, for that he stayed to go to Rome: and much more, for want of pay vnto his men of warre: for that many times, habre hurt redoundeth to Princes by holding their armies discontented, then to encounter their armed enemis. In very shor space Macrinus had recovered mortall hatred of his armies: of the one parte, to be so absolute a tyrant, and on the other parte, to be in vice so dissolute, and also so much puffed vp with pride: for that he seemed to extoll himselfe by commaunding, and loathed and despighed with spites of his subiectes. Macrinus was a man of a lowe stature, quarrelous, ambitious, and also covetous: but loyntly herewith, he was valiant in the field, and yet woulde seeke great meanes to liue in peace: & notwithstanding all these conditions, both god and euil, they woulde never have taken away his life and Empire, if he had not bee neumm'd with the vices of Asia.

## CHAP. III.

¶ Howe the great matrone Mesia bought the Empire for her nephue Heliogabalus.

In the time that Macrinus was resident in Antioche, the Romane hosts, were in defence of the prouince of Phcenicia: because in that yere, that countrie did abound in grain for bread, and the people also were not fatigats or spene with warres. We haue said, how in that countrie, there was a temple dedicated vnto the God Heliogabalus: which in buildings was verie magnificent, and of priests much populated. Many Romane captaines, went many times to visite that temple: some to see, some to pray, and some to offer sacrifices: for that, naturally, the Romanes presumed to be great worshipers of their gods, and to hold their temples in singular reverenc. Ther was in those daies, in those temples, two young priests first cousins: one of whiche was named Heliogabalus, and the other Alexius: these yong men, in their vespments which they did weare, and in their life which they did leade, were iudget to bee priests: one the other part, they well seemed by their grauitie, to bee the sonnes of princes. The matrone Mesia was so discreet, secret, and aduisled, that the children being of the age of fifteene yeres, neither them selues, or any other for them, did either knowe, or suspect, who were their fathers, either who their grandmother: but that shē sayd vnto all men, that those children were orphans, and seruies vnto her auncient seruaunts. When Macrinus did tyrannize his empire, amongst other errors which hee committed, hee banished the famous matrone Mesia from the courte: not for that hee did so much as suspect her of any euill, but beeing therunto urged by his vile inclination: for that all princes, his predecessours, esteemed her as a mother, and honored her as a ladie of great souereigntie. In the courte of eight emperours, by the space of 53. yeres, the great matrone Mesia had bee ne restent, with all whiche shē uttered, of her selfe so great valure, and yealded such estimation of her person, and also of them recovered so great gaine, that when Macrinus did reiect her from the court, she had more riches in her exile, then Macrinus might finde in the whole empire.

The

The matrone Mesia departed unto Phoenicia; where her two nephues remained, namely Heliogabalus, and Alexius: and as there remained manie Romane gentlemen euill payed and worse pleased, so they ioyned with Mesia, and Mesia with them, to talke and murmur howe Macrinus had slaine, by treason, his lord the Emperour Bassianus, and made haueock of the Empire & common wealth: whiche matter was moued amongst persons that had desired to remoue this mischief, and on the tyzante also to take vengeaunce. The matrone Mesia received exceeding ioy, to heare with her owne eares, and see with her eyes, howe all the armie was bente against the tyrant Macrinus: and their greatest care was, to finde a man sufficient, and of merite meete for the Empire: because the Romane stode with him in great and cruel hatred, for want of pay, and the matrone Mesia no lesse grieued with her exile. The matrone Mesia beholding her selfe in so good & apt assembly, to make her nephue Heliogabalus Romane Emperour, called in great secrecie, sixe Romane captaines of the chiefest of the armis: all which were of great authoritie, and no lesse gravitie. Unto these sixe captaines Mesia sayd in secrecie, howe her nephue Heliogabalus was sonne unto the Emperour Bassianus, and Semiamira her daughter: and that shée had helde him hidden in Asia, for doubt of þ Empresse Iulia; who (had shēe knowne it) would haue slaine the childe, and banished the mother. Mesia was not only satisfied to lay & certifie these vi. captaines, that the Emperour Bassianus most truely was father unto that younge man, and nephue unto her selfe: but ioyntly therewith, she brought them into her chamber, and discovered unto them an huge masse of golde & silver, whiche she promised, and sware vpon the altars of the temple, to distribute totally vpon the armie, if they woulde give the Romaine Empire unto her nephue.

Unto these sixe captaines ( to whome the matrone Mesia had committed this secrecie, and discovered this treasure) shēe both promised and sware, to bringe to passe with

with her nephue Heliogabalus, that he shoulde give them the moste honourable offices in all the Empire, if in case they shoulde vse the meane to make him Emperour: in so muche that, if other men were payed and recompenced, they shoulde remaine both remunerated and honoured. Create wisdome was vsed by the matrone Mesia, in this matter of so greate impoztance, especially in the choyce of so honourable captaines: whose credite was sufficient to frame the whole armie to persourme the same. Of this example, princes and greate potentates may collecte, that in anie affaires, there is not greater daunger, either more safitic, then soundly to consider, in to whose hands they commende their causes.

The Praetorian bands being euill intreated, and worse payde, greate was their ioy, when they hearde that Heliogabalus was þ sonne of Bassianus, for whom the grandmo- ther craved the Empire: whome they all accepted, and bound them selues to receive for their Emperour: not on- ly to be reuenged of þ tyrant Macrin<sup>9</sup>, but also to possesse the money. For so much as the temple where he was Priest, was without the citie, agrément was made betweene the matrone Mesia, and the armie, that pre- sently the same night ( notwithstanding it were verie late) both her nephue and also her owne person, by strenght and devise should be conueyed ouer the wall into the citie, that at the breake of day, they shoulde seaze the citie, and aduaunce Heliogabalus unto the Empire. Neither was the matrone Mesia slacke to accomplit their request, either was there anie wante in the promise made by the Praeto- rians: but that Mesia and her nephue approching to the foote of the wall, w<sup>o</sup> purposed engins mounted them ouer into the citie; the young man being placed amids the Romane captaines, beleuynge him to be the sonne of Bas- sianus, by resemblance of his face, and by a marke in his hande, as Bassianus had.

The Romane armies received greate ioy, to beholde Mesia and her nephue Heliogabalus; chiefly, to see the young<sup>3</sup>

young man so comely, faire, and towarde: and in beholding they would all say, that since he had so god a face, necessarily it followed, that his dedes shoulde be vertuous: but his inclination beeing discovered, there was no vice wherein he was not noted: either any vertue wherefore to be praised. The great matrone Mesia (as a woman that dealt in affaires both daungerous and scandalous) would first assure the Empire vnto her nephue, before shee departed from her treasure: and the case was thus. Shee framed all the principals of the armie, presently to sweare vnto Heliogabalus, as their onely Emperour, & to kisse his hande as their naturall Lorde. A matter most truely verie marueilous, and no lesse worthie to be commended vnto memorie, namely, the dispatche and diligence vsed by Mesia in one night: moste manifestly apparant, that within sixe houres, shee brought forth her nephue from the temple, passed him ouer the wall, did yeald him credite to be the sonne of Bassianus, obteined their othes as vnto their Emperour, killed his hand as loyall subiectes, diuided her treasure amongst the armies, fortifid them selues in the fortes of the citie, and brought the whole hoste into armour. At the breake of daye, in every tower they did sound their trumpets, placed their Standards and Pensus, bothe on bulwarkes and coerteines, and with loude voices exclaime through all streates: Viva, viva el Emperador Heliogabalo, hijo del buen Bassiano: that is to saye: happie and long life vnto the emperoure Heliogabalus, sonne to the god Bassianus. This beeing done & proclaymed, Heliogabalus came forth into the citie, neither on scote or on horse backe, but vpon the shoulders of the moste auient and honourable of the armie, wearing the imperiall cravone vpon his head, and holding the repall scepter in his hande, and haueing vpon his shoulders the ensigne of Augusta, & before him the pendon of the Eagle: because these were the ensignes whereby the emperours of Rome were knownen. And now, after y standards were placed, and the strength of the citie passed, the armie publickly

publiquely proclaimed, and receaved the Emperour Heliogabalus for their lorde and Emperour: presently the renowned matrone Mesia did yealde vnto them all her treasure, bothe siluer and golde, without breache of any promeise, or reseruing of any one Jewell. The Romanes were so contented with the matrone Mesia, that there they did both sweare and vowe, to esteeme her as a mother, to hold Heliogabalus for their Lorde, and to persecute the tyrant Macrinus, euен to death.

## CHAP. IIII.

¶ Howe Macrinus did write a letter vnto the renowned Mesia, after he vnderstood his depriuation of the Empire.

THE tyrant Macrinus was settled with greate securtie, in the citie of Antioche, when they remoued him from the Empire in Phoenicia: for so it hath bene, is, and shalbe, that when Princes moste greedily doe prosecute vices, then their enimies are weauing some webb of most deadly daunger. Heliogabalus was not the full age of seuentene yeres when he was aduaanced to the Empire: when Macrinus in Antioche heard the newes of y whiche was don in Phoenicia, he fell into a great laughter, & made a test of it: chiefely, being certified to be so very a childe, & framed by his grandmother Mesia, whome he helde bothe for a woman ambitious, and also contentious. Those persons that remained with Macrinus (after they hearda of a newe Emperour, & that y Romane hostis had don him homage and fealtie) advised & also prayed him, that he would not esteeme the matter ouer light, but with better and riper counsell, shoulde thinke and consider for the remedie thereof: for it might come to passe, by conceiving it to be but a test, that the other might remaine Emperour in earnest.

As Macrinus naturally was both ambitious, orgulous, and disdainful: so he deuaunding ymke and paper, presently did write a cholericke letter with his own hands, vnto the famous matrone Mesia after this maner.

*Macrinus Ancius, onely Em-*

perour and vniuersall Lord, to the ma-  
trone Mesia her person, small health,  
and lesse grace with the Gods.

Here I am aduertised, that in the offence of the Gods, & vnto my great want of reverence, thou hast attempted with mine armies, to establish a newe Emperour: which deede exactly declareth thee to be (as in deede thou art) a woman both seditious, and also ambitious: since thou knowest that by meanes of thy young and mutinic in the common wealth, I did banishe thee my house. Also they saye, that the emperour which thou hast made, is a boye, a priest, a bastard, and thy nephue: whereunto there is no more to be aunswered, but that I shal chastice thee as a woman, and him as a childe: that is to saye, commaund him to be whipt, & thy selfe to spinne. I sweare vnto thee Mesia (by the immortall Gods) that if thou driue mee to take my lance in hand, I will force thee to put thy distaffe vnder thy girdle: for vnto women (such as thou) it were more honestie to be spinning, then to practice mutinies amongst souldiours. Also it is faide vnto me, that thou hast giuen infinite treasures vnto mine armies, to moue them to revolt from mee, and to elect thy nephue Emperour: these with the rest, be the fruites of thy guyle: for that on-  
ly

ly of thee, and neuer of any other, it is faide, or shall be faide, that thou hast robbed the Empire, to buy the Empire.

If all princes past had knownen thee as I do knowe thee, neither would they haue giuen credite vnto thy woordes, or faith vnto thy fained workes: but as by thy guileful diligence in their seruice, and presuming attempts in their affaires, thou didst commaund their housholdes, and gathered the fruites of their goodes. I haue heard thee many times boast thy selfe, that thou wast borne in the house of Marcus Aurelius, nourished with Antoninus Pius, and didst dwell in house with Commodus, Pertinax, Julianus, and Seuerus, Princes very glorious: which if thou hadst remembred, thou wouldest neuer haue committed a deede so vile: for there may not be in the whole worlde a deede more vnseeming, then for him that was bred in the palace of kings, to committ treason against a person of such maestie. If it shall hap the Gods to permitt, and my sorrowfull destinies so to direct, that in this enterprise I lose both honour and life, I can saye vnto thee Mesia, that which historiographers, who shall write of thee and mee, with trueth may saye, that the Empire came vnto mee by election, but to thine through treason. If thou hadst beene a woman of honestie or honour, thou wouldest not so openly haue defamed thy daughter Semiamira, whome thou chargest to haue accompanied Bassianus, and of her bodie this boye Heliogabalus to haue sproung, for whome nowe thou procurest the Empire: because in the houses of blushing faces, generous and noble heartes, they more esteeme an ounce of honour, then all the wealth and estate of this life.

Oh Mesia, howe greate an errour hast thou made in this thine enterprise, onely to reuenge thy rauenous heart, and to make thy nephue an Emperour? namely, thou hast raised a slander vpon Bassianus, defamed the royal palace of incest, dishonoured thine vnchaste daughter Semiamira, blemished the Empresse Iulia of vnhonest consent, & not stained but imbruued thine owne fame, with the filthie couerture of incestuous adulterie. And since Bassianus, Iulia, Semiamira, and Seuerus haue ended their dayes: wherefore wilt thou (oh traytresse Mesia) dishonour so many that be dead, to honour but one that is aliue? Nowe I knowe (oh Mesia) howe tedious and perillous it is, for quiet men to deale with mutinous women, and passioned as thou art: who hauing no yron to hurte our fleshe, yet committest deedes to defame vs, and speakest woordes to torment vs. Of this treason which thou hast committed against me, I doubt not to be reuenged, and my heart throughly satisfied: for so greate an offence is treason, that if it be in men to offend therein, the Gods haue onely charge to reuenge y same. It is giue me also to vnderstand, that this thy nephue was a priest in the temple of the God Heliogabalus: in which matter I do not entermedle and say little, since in this iniurie ye haue not committed offence vnto men, but vnto the gods: but ioyntly therewith I dare saye vnto thee, that since thou hast drawnen him foorth of the temple, where he was consecrated vnto the Gods, thou shalt never enjoy good dayes of him: for that of thy parte, to haue done seruice vnto the Goddes, of Princes thou shouldest haue made priestes, and not of priestes Princes.

The

The Gods deuaund nothing which we haue, but if by chaunce wee offer any thing vnto them, they like it not, that wee should returne to take it awaye: for which cause I say vnto thee, and from henceforth, do prophecie (O Mesia) that for so muche as thou hast drawne foorth thy nephue from the holy temple, he shall lose the Empire, and thou thy money. The confidence whiche thou committedst vnto the men of warre, by dividing amongst them so greate quantitie of golde and siluer, I hope in the immortall Gods, shall all conclude in smoke: for it is an auncient custome among the Romane hostes, not to giue the Empire to the person of mooste merite, but vnto him that payeth best. The matter that mooste grieueth mee (O Mesia) in this traitorous enterprise, is, to thinke, that I being a man, and a Romane prince, must deale, fight, and contende with a woman: because there may not bee in this whole worlde an equall despight, then for a man to arme him selfe against a woman, whose weapons are but woordes. But the conclusion shalbe, since thou wast borne in the palace of the good Marcus Aurelius, and Heliogabalus being thy nephue, if thou wilt be remoued from this follye, and reduc thy selfe into my subiection and obedience, I will relieue thee of this exile, and to thy nephue Heliogabalus will I giue a Consulship: and if not, wee are come vnto the time, that men must doe what they may, and the Gods as they please.

## CHAP. V.

Of a letter written by the great matrone

Mesia unto the tyrant Macrinus.

When Mesia received the letter from the tyrant Macrinus, her nephue Heliogabalus, & al the princiall capaines of the armes beeing present (who of set purpose did boholde her countenance all the time that shee read the same, which matter was both merueilous, and to be noted, in consideration of such a letter so furnished with malice, and fraught with despite) shee neither changed countenance, or saide one word after the reading of the same. Above all men or women of her dayes, in two pointes this fatuous matrone Mesia excelled, which is to weeke, for great solitude in affaires, and sovereigns patience in trauells: and so it came to passe, shee vespasian, that shee never loste matter by negligencie, or ever aunswereed a man as one passioned. Heliogabalus and all that were present, did not a litle request the renouned matrone Mesia to reade that letter unto them, or tell what it contained, which shee utterly refused, saying unto them, that it were a facte verie euill, presently to reade it, and it wold much worse, if affet in time and place shee did not heare it. This beeing done and Mesia withdrawne, shee aunswereed to Macrinus his letter after this manner.

Mesia Phoenicia, unto Ancius

Macrinus his person, health and consolation in the Gods,

In this the fronte of my letter, I do not curse or banne thee as thou didst me, in y beginning of thine: for wee that be persons bred and trayned in princes courts,

courtes, do nota little presume to be praised for our goot nourture, and to escape to be noted malitious, Urbanitie, betheroldnes, and good manners; oughe not to be loste for anie vnkindnesse, or forgotten for any occasion: for that amongst persons noble & shamefaste, although they do them iurries, yet they endure not to speake vile wordes. Thou shouldest haue remembred (Macrinus) þat I was a woman, to whiche thou didst write, and thou a man that didst take the same in hande: and that if thou hadist founde thy selfe offendid or dishonoured by me, thou shouldest haue revenged thy selfe with thy lance, as a noble person, and not with thy peane as a cowarde. The armour and defence of women is the young, but men defend them selues with their swordes or weapones: wherfore my Lord Seuerus did vse to say, that it were a great wante in a man, to reuenge his cause with wordes: and too muche lightnesse in a woman to defende her griefe with weapons: But the case shalbe thus, that since thou takest my office, which is to speake, I will take thine which is to fight: for that the glorie wherof thou presumest to haue slaine so manie men, thou shalte be deprived in receiuing thy death at the hands of a woman.

Thou sayest in thy letter, that thou didst banishe me thy house, and caste me out of Rome, as a woman of an euill young, and seditious in the common welth: Macrinus, thou haste to vnderstande, that I am not so much grieved with that which thou writest to me, as for the occasion whiche thou giuest mee to aunswere thee: because I may not directly aunswere unto thy vilenesse, without disgracing of my grauitie.

D.iii.

If

If I had beeene a woman of an euill tounge, and revolting from the common wealth, (as thou Macrinus vniuersitely reportest) would they have suffered mee in their courtes: and would the good Marcus Aurelius, Antoninus Pius, and my lorde Seuerus haue retayned mee in their houses? In Princes palaces, and in all citizens houses, all vices are couerted, or at the least shadowed, except the person that is seditious, or soule and libertall tounged: which is, not onely intollerable, but much lesse to be hidden. I appeale vnto the immortall Gods for witnessesse, if in fiftie & three yeres, in which I haue boene trained and resident in Princes courtes, I did euer hurte any person, either in worde or deede, which thou knowest to be moste true; because all men did loue mee; for that I trauailed and did good for all persons. Thou Macrinus didst banishe mee thy courte, to haue more scope to followe thy vice: for thou wel knowest, & also all persons in Rome, that thy lewdnesse and my grauitie might not dwell vnder one couert. Thou sayest in thy letter, that my nephue Heliogabalus shalbe whipt as a boye, and I, as a woman shalbe sent to spinne: vnto woordes so farre distempered, and of so greate despight as these are, I doe not permitte to be aunswered, but to be revenged. If, when thou didst write vnto mee and my nephue, woordes so foule, and of so great enormitie, thou hadst remembred what I was, and what thou arte: which is to weete, that my father was a knight of Phoenicia, & thy father a smith of Capua: thou shouldest haue considered, that in sending mee to spinne on a distaffe, I would send thee to blowe at the bellowes.

To that which thou sayest, that it were more for

my

my honestie amogest flaines to be weauing, then bringing and seducing the armes, which as thou sayest so haue I performed: for I giue thee to vnderstand, that I haue warpt such a webb, as thou neither knowest to vnfarme, or mayst cut off when it is finished. Macrinus, thou hadst neede of more vnderstanding, and also of more power, either to whip my nephue Heliogabalus, or set me to spinne: for notwithstanding our thoughtes be lowe, yet our fortune is high: but thou hast a base fortune, and a hautie hart. Also thou sayest in thy letter, that to make my nephue an Emperour, I haue diuided all my treasure amongst the men of warre: and that of mochely it may be said, that I robbed the Empire, to buye the Empire. To this I answere, that thou haest said right well: if, as thdu art a tyraunt thou wert an Emperour: but I buy not the Empire for my nephue, but redeme it from thee: which art a tyrant, and no lesse assured, that the fathers of the sacred Senate wil allow my election, and violateth thy tyranie. In that thdu sayest that I robbed the Empire to buye the Empire, proceedeth of vile slauder, and no lesse falsehood: since thou, Macrinus, dost know most certainly, that to obtein riches, I needed not rob the common wealth; because my patrimonie is very great, my husbād left me rich, my sister Iulia gaue me al her treasure, my Lord Seuerus ceased not to giue me monie, the Consul Furius mine vncle, gaue me a yearly stipend, & for al men for whom I sued, somewhat was presented me: in such wise, that I had alwayes to giue, and at no time founde my selfe in necessitie to craue. If this be true (as it is most true) being a Lady of so great wealth: why shouldest thou Macrinus defame mee with theft? Believe me (thou Macrinus) if I

justice, or haddest it by inheritance; but diddest r<sup>e</sup>ob<sup>t</sup> it by tyrannie. Also thou sayest in thy letter, that if I & my nephue would yeld obedience, thou wilt pardon my exile, and give him a Consulship. To this I aunswere, that now al thinges are so farre concluded, that there remayneth no time to talk of shares: and if wee shouldest vnderstand therin, thou shouldest take what were offert thee, without thy electiō of what shouldest please thee: for that partes and shares in such like cases, are not accustomed to be givēn by traytours, but by Lords absolute in estate. Thou & I Macrinus are incountered in so narrowe a condition, that the Gods, fortune, and also armes, haue to declare thy malice, & my innocencie: thy tyrannie, and my justice: thy treason, and my fidelitie: thy falshod, and my trueth: thy cructie, and my zeale: thy pride and my patience: thy treason, and my simple intent: which being done, they shal give the Empire, not vnto him that desirēth, but vnto him that shall deserue the same.

## CHAP. VI.

¶ Howe the tyraunt Macrinus was  
slaine in battell.

After that Mesia had written her letter, and dispatched Macrinus messengers, she conferred with the principal Captaines of the armie: unto whom she vnscovered what Macrinus had written, and how she had answered hym: who were not a litle greued with the discouertes that it conteyned, and greatly commended the aunswere whiche Mesia had made. And as Macrinus had said in his letter, that the Romaine hostes did use to give the Empire, not vnto the person of most deserving, but vnto him that best did pay them: so hym Romaine captaines were not therewith a litle

a litle despited, presently swearing, not once but many times, that Macrinus might not satisfie that inturie with lesse cost, then with the losse of his head. Macrinus committed no small errore, in banishing Mesia, but much more in writing that letter, but most of all in charging the armes with such an outrage: for that it was the totall occasion, for Mesia to recover more fauour, and Macrinus to lose his credite. Of this so notable example, princes and other great potentates haue to take example, that when their people or vassals shall be altered, or mutuined, very much to consider, not only what they do, but also what they say and write: for that in rebellious times, more hurt is done with a word or a letter, then at another time with a notable inturie. The Matrone Mesia, with her erile not a litle greued, and with the letter no lesse displeased: neither would sleepe by night, or rest by day: prouiding thinges necessarie for the warres, and dispatching posses for Italie: for her intent was, to sustaine her estate in Asia with armes, and in Rome with letters and promises. This citie which Mesia possessed, was of 2000. households, where she made preparation of engins wherewith to whirle, and bulwoxes to defend: and further, gaue commaundement, that the moste valiante persons, and most chyss capitaines should remaine within the same: not onely to resist, but also to offend. When Macrinus read the letter that Mesia had written, and was aduertised by his messengers, how patiently, and without alteration shee read his letter, he was not a litle greued therewith: for he had opinion of hym matrone Mesia, that shee had skill to dissemble injuries, and after in processe to reuenge the same.

The Prefect of Macrinus armie, was a valiant Capitaine, named Julianus, whom he sent with his greatest power vnto the citie which Mesia and her nephue Heliogabalus did possesse: giuing commaundement, that he should trauel to take them aline, to performe his promise whiche he had sygne: which is to witt to set Mesia to spinne, and her nephue to bee whipt. Julianus was a Capitaine bold and

and valiunt, who besiegng the citie, which he thought to be in distresse, more then it was, and giving a furious as-ault, hauing scarcely mounted on the topp of the wall, the souldours of the citie by plaine strength pulled him ouer, cut off his head, and hanged it out on a tower. The morrowe after that these thinges had passed, Mesia commaunded certaine of Macrinus Capitaines, to be called into her presence, who vpon assurance approuching vnto the fote of the wall, said vnto them these wordes: that which I haue to say vnto you (my friends) is, that ye behold and consider vpon this turrett, the head of your sorrowfull Capitaine Iulianus: and say vnto your maister Macrinus, that the distaffe wherewith I spinne is that launce, & that head is the call which I doe weave and knit. When Macrinus heard the newes of the misfortune that had happened vnto his Capitaine Iulianus, and what wordes the matrone Mesia had said vnto the souldiers of his armie: hee said (as it was reported) with a rozing voyce: my destinies be finisched, my houre is come, and my fortune is ended. Macrinus with feare had his courage so daunted, that secretly he began to practise with the matrone Mesia, to diuide the Empire with her nephue Heliogabalus: but being (as shes was) in so great readinesse, & no lesse passioned, she would in no wise accept, either as much as giue eare thereunto: and that, if y<sup>e</sup> Empire were to be divided, it shoulde be with an Emperour, and not with a Tyrant.

Macrinus perciuing his offers to be rejected, his words despised, and his presents nothing regarded, determined to make a proesse offortune, which with the whille of her variable whaile, many times doeth wound without threathening: and sometimes threateneh without wounding. Macrinus gathering and also payng his armie which hee had in the confines of Antioche, departed vnto Phoenicia, where hee camped ver y neere vnto the citie, which Mesia and her nephue Heliogabalus defended: who presently sent to giue Macrinus to understand, that hee shoulde not neede to take the paine to assault the towne, soz that with-

In very fewe dayes they would issue to give him battell in the field. Two Romane armies, and two Romane Emperours, were in Phoenicia one against another: Macrinus partie euery day diminishing, and the other nearely increasing but also prenailing: for that daily the souldiers parted from Macrinus vnto Heliogabalus, understandyng that hee was sonne vnto Bassianus, and did acknowledge him soz their Emperour, & kissed his hands as their natural Lord and souereigne.

By the number that daily fledd from him, in their double speach which they vsed with him, in the fickle seruice which they did him, by his bands which daily diminished, and by their weake courage in fighting: Macrinus did clearely perceiue, that hee might not obtaine victorie, but save himselfe to be in daunger of a sale vnto his enimies. Macrinus counterfeited a shew vnto his souldiers of courage to fight, and yet was in great readinesse to flye: for that at all times, when he issued to encounter or skirmish, he was mounted vpon an horse of great swiftnes, and like-lyse disguised.

Mesia being aduertised, that Macrinus had greater regard to the safetie of his life, then his honour or gods, provided to issue at the soudaine to giue him battell: the whiche although on both sides was thzoughly imbued in blond, and not a little daungerously contended, yet in the end, Macrinus was put to flight, and staled in a village, but with the losse of his head. This was the end and conclusion of the tyrant Macrinus, which vsurped the Romane dominion xiiij. monethes, and tenne dayes: who was so cruell (besides all other vices) that amongst his owne souldiers he was termed, not Macrinus, but Macellin<sup>9</sup>, which is to say, butcher: for that in respecte of the humaine bloud whiche hee shedde, hee more seemed a butcher, then a Romane Prince.

The life of the  
CHAP. VII.

¶ Of a notable letter written by the matrone *Mesia*, vnto the Senate of Rome, cravu-  
ng the confirmation of the Empire vnu-  
to Heliogabalus her  
nephue.

The tyrant *Macrinus* being dead and beheaded, present-  
ly the two armies toynd in one: and notwithstanding  
the one part had followed *Heliogabalus*, & the other *Mac-  
rinus*, yet the matrone *Mesia* thought it not meet to moue  
disputatio, who had beene traytors, or who had beene loy-  
all: affirming it to be more conuenient time to win minds,  
then to reuenge iniuries. Although the matrone *Mesia* in  
all other matters past, had discovered her great wisedome,  
yet in this case abone the rest she made a shew of her great  
prudence: for that (to say the truth) in rebellious times, &  
amongest mutinous people, princes ought not to occupie  
themselues in chastisements, but in reconcilementes. All  
the capitaines of *Macrinus* that escaped the battell, con-  
serving howe *Mesia* commannde by publicke proclama-  
tion, that no man shoule presume to call them traytors,  
either vse them with soule wordes, ioyntly assembled of  
their owne francke minds, to confesse her to be their soue-  
reigne Lady: and to lisse the handes of *Heliogabalus* for  
their Emperor.

The matrone *Mesia* vowed her selfe to ioy, for obteyn-  
ing reuenge of the tyrant *Macrinus*, and to behold the ar-  
mies toynd in one, yeelding due obedience to her nephue  
*Heliogabalus*: that from the yeares of xl. v. to the discouered  
a gesture and countenaunce but of xl. yeares of age. Al-  
though the matrone *Mesia* held the Empire of her nephue  
*Heliogabalus* safe and established, partly to see the enimis-  
taine, as also for the obediēce received of both the armies:  
yet she prouided that *Heliogabalus* shoule not intitle him-  
selfe

Emperour *Heliogabalus*. 401

selfe Vniuersal Lord, or Onely Emperour, vntill the Ro-  
manes had receiuied him, and the Senate confirmed him.  
Not syre dayes after these thinges had passed in Phoenicia,  
the matrone *Mesia* sent a solemine embassage vnto Rome:  
and secretly gaue vnto the Embassadours many Jewels to  
diuide amongst the Senatours, and for time to come in  
her behalfe to make them great offers: to the end with ie-  
wels to trayne them to her purpose, and with hope to en-  
terteine them. This being done, *Mesia* wrote vnto the Se-  
nate a letter sufficiently well indited, after this maner.

*Mesia Phoenicia*, vnto the sa-  
cred Romane Senate, health  
and grace.

Vnto men so glorious in acts, & so graue in precepts  
and doctrine, (as ye are right reuerent fathers cōscript)  
it may sem a matter both new & straunge, for a wo-  
man to write vnto the sacred Romane Senate: which  
renowmed name the Gods do reuerence, & men ther-  
at do tremble and are terrified. The matters, which by  
my embassadours I send to giue you to vnderstand,  
neither for that I am a woman that may do little, your  
grauitie hath not to cōsider of the same as a matter of  
smal importance: because all men are not so wise, that  
none doth misse: either al womē so vnable but ȳ some  
escape error. Those thigs which ye shal read in this my  
letter, or shal heare at ȳ mouth of my Embassadours,  
I sweare vnto you by the immortall gods, and by the  
sepulchres of mine elders, that theybe most true & not  
feigned: for that in a Lady of mine estate, it were lesse  
infamie to be vnchaſt, then to be a lyar. I haue heard  
my Lord Mar. *Aurelius* say, when I was but a child,  
that in women alwayes were conioyned, truth & cha-

Ec.

sticie,

stitic, and a woman of trueth, was never but chaste: & a woman addicted to lying, did never continue in continencie. Some of you that now are living may remēber, when y Empresse Iulia my sister, came to be wife of the Emperour Sēuerus, and how in her company I came to the Court, wherin I was long & many yeares both serued and also persecuted: for as in courts of princes, they that seeke their singular aduancement: y one ceaseth not to persecute the other. Although in princes palaces where I liued, I haue beene persecuted, defamed, and also enuied: yet I beseech the immortal gods, y the dealing & entreatance, which then I vsed, with such as wished me euil, that the same & no other, they will performe on me, which now wish me well. In 53. yeares y I haue stayed in diuers princes courts, I never dasht any person out of countenance, I never toke the tale out of their mouth, I never spake any injurious word, I never reproved any perso, I never did preuidice any mans name, & never iniuriously tooke any vengeance: because in houses of great princes, no man maye obteine aduaancement, if he lacke skil to suffer. This which I here relate (fathers conscript) is, not to recouer praise, but to the end ye should beleue me: for if my perso possesse no credite, my embassage must needs haue issue of no effect. Speaking more in particular, I say: ye know that many yeares since my sister and I departed Rome, attending on the emperour Bassianus, and after that the traitour Macrinus had slaine him, Iulia his vnfortunat wife, so sensiblie did feele his death, that by extreeme sorrowe she finisched her life. Fortune would not cōsent to deprive me of my vital spirits, when my sister Iulia was bereft of life: and this she did, not to the end to forget mee, but

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the more to greeue mee: because in great perils and misfortunes, if at y time fortune did dissemble, it was not so much as to honour them, as afterwardes to bee reuenged of them. Of the death of Bassianus my lord and your emperour, as it was in my hands to bewaile him, if it had beene as well to defende him, either hee had never died, or else had beene raised to life: for that most truly, although Bassianus were yonge, vaine, fickle, absolute, & dissolute, yet on the other part, he was patient, silent, and pitiful: and it might haue beene, in the burthen of greater age, he would haue forgotten y vices of his youth. There is no confidence at al times in most wise men, either despaire in fickle yonge mē: for that we see all day long, that many times age doth bring forth fruite, where reason did not yeld as much as leaues. He that in deede laide hands on Bassianus, was that caytive Martianus: but he that commaunded him to be slaine, was the traitour Macrinus: a man most truly of base condition, infamous life, obscure linage, an idiot in letters, intemperant in speach, vicious in maners, and a tyrant in his workes. Ye perfectly perceiue(fathers conscript) that a man so much defamed, were a slander to be receiued & accepted for a prince: for that in great estates & Segniories, it is not sufficient that their princes be valiant, but also honourable: which is to wit, not to want proportion in their persons, and to haue noblenes in bloud, of all whiche things Macrinus hath no possession: for, besids that he is of obscure linage, infamous of life, cruel of cōdition and false of promise: so had he a swarte visage, and a dwarfs body, he was splay footed, & also poare blind.

Mactinus was not satisfied to haue slaine Bassianus, but also ysurped the Empire: and to heape euill

Ee.ii.

ypon

uppon euil, did sweare vpon the altar of the temple, that he had not slaine Bassianus, in such wise, that the periured Macrinus, was not contented with homicide and manslaughter: but before the Gods was also periured. But as the Gods are iust in rewarding the vertuous, and not carelesse to chastise the wicked, & that the election of men, being not confirmed of the gods: my nephue Heliogabalus and I, haue herein vsed so great skill, that at the time when the tyrant Macrinus was most abandoned vnto the vices of Antioche, wee cut off his head: in such wise, that Asia was set free frō his tyrannic, and the death of Bassianus well reuenged. The armies that were scattered, discōntented, diuided, and euil payed, we haue gathered together, payed, and vnitid: and possesse all Asia in obedience vnto the Romane Empire. Also (fathers conscript) I wish ye to vnderstand, that in the time of life, and also after the death of the tyrant Macrinus, the armies did elect my nephue Heliogabalus Emperour: which election I will not denie but that I desired, practised, procured, and also bought: for that it seemed vnto mee, that the Empire being in the hands of such a tyrant as Macrinus, it was not bought, but redeemed. If in this marte of the Empire I haue offendid, I wil yecel my selfe to al maner of punishment: but therwith I would haue ye to vnderstand, that I bought it with my monney, openly of your armie, from a tyrant, farre from Rome, in a rebellious time, and for the sonne of Bassianus: and I say for the sonne of Bassianus, which with most iuste title should haue inherited the Empire: if Macrinus had not vsurped the same.

Fathers conscript, it seemeth not y I haue deserued blamc, much leſſe any chastisement: because by my industrie and

and proper goods, I haue paied your armies, set Asia in peace, slaine the tyrant, redeemed the Empire, and aboue all the reste, haue reuenged the death of Bassianus, & giuen as his inheritance apperteined vnto his sonne. As your armies do heare report, and there doe write, they were so poore and in such distresse, y more justly it may be said, not that I suborned but succoured them with my monie: because the more part had not to eate, nor garments to weare, aduenturing to rob vpon the wayes, and in townes to filch & steale. And since my nephue is sonne vnto Bassianus, nephue vnto Seuerus, & a young man of himselfe in semblance of good inclination, it seemeth not that we haue erred in his election, either shal y e swarue in his confirmation: for that in life he resembleth the father, and in courage and noblenesse of minde the graundfather. Neither is this election to be reproved, for his euil notiſturing or doctrine: for as ye know, he was not trained in vices, but in temples: not with prophane men, but with honest priests: not robbing on high wayes, but offering sacrifices: not sheading bloud, but teares: not wandering at large, but withdrawn: not persecuting men, but seruing the gods. From a child of much infancie, I offered my nephue Heliogabalus to the gods in the temple: where he hath beene instructed to be milde, chaste, silent, patient, sober, pitifull, and abstinent: and if by hap, he shall proue otherwise then nowe hee is, it may be for the libertie that he shal obteine, and not for the doctrine which he hath learned,

All princes past haue beene elected onely of men, but my nephue both of Gods and men: for that I vowed him to doe sacrifices, & the Gods haue rendered him to gouerne kingdomes.

Ye Romanes do greatly cōmend your selues, yē ye remoued Quintus Cincinat<sup>2</sup> from earing at the plough to be Dictatour: but more is my nephue to be praised, that was praying in the temple: for of more excellencie is that man that prayeth before the gods, then he yē ploweth after oxen. In Rome alwayes in times past, the priesthood was diuided from the Empire: but ye see that whiche was never scene of your forefathers, namely, that the priest is an Emperour, and the Emperour a priest: in such wise, that with his sacrifices, hee shal reconcile vs with the gods, & with the empire defend vs against our enimies. Fathers cōscript, great & infinite thanckes haue we to render vnto all the gods, for that they haue giuen vs an Emperour which knoweth to pray, & hath skil to fight: for as ye al knowe, few victories are obtained by fight of me, if the gods do not dispose the same. Although the election of my nephue hath beeene done by the armie, and supposed also to be confirmed by the gods: yet neither will I yē he rule the empire, or be established Emperour, vntill by the sacred Senate it be considered, & also cōfirmed: for I hold him not Emperour that is obeyed in Asia, but that is loued & elected at Rome. Since this young mā Heliogabalus, is the sonne of a prince, the nephue, the cousin, the brother of a prince, & a prince elected, we haue al to presume yē he shal proue a good prince: for that he is much bound to be good, that is defcded of many good persons. As long as I lett my life, I shall not cease to trauel that his life be such, as the doctrine and nourture which I haue giuen him: and if after my death he shal proue evill, the fault shal then be nō mine, for as ye (fathers cōscript) do wel understand, no blame is to be imputed to him that is alreadie dead.

nei-

neither may any excuse serue the manifest fault of the lieuing.

## CHAP. VIII.

¶ How the Romane Senate did allow the election of Heliogabalus, & of the present appearance of his wickednes.

The Embassadors being arriued, & their Embassage also knownen at Rome, both the Senate and people were in exceeding admiration, when they vnderstood of y great acts which Mesia had done in Asia, & heard of the letter that she wrote vnto Rome: whereof many copies were made, and sent to diuers townes & cities. In Rome they found themselves in great confusid, vpon determinatiō of an answere to yē demaund which the matrone Mesia had made, because the Senate doubted her attēpts in time to come: in respect wherof they so deferid their answere, yē the Embassadors complained vnto yē Tribune of the people. By letters of her Embassadors, the matrone Mesia was aduertised of y dis-sention betwixt the Senate and people, as concerning yē election & confirmation of her nephue Heliogabalus: wherupon presently she determined to depart frō Asia, to Italie, vowing wā an othe to constraine the Senate to performe by force, that which they refused to accomplish of their owne accord. The Senate hauing intelligence, the matrone Mesia to be departed frō Asia to Rome, not to sue or make request, but to fight, forgate not to allow the election of Heliogabalus: commanding by publique proclamation, that from thēceforth they shold hold & esteeme him as their souereigne lord, & obey him as emperour. The matrone Mesia iourneying from Asia to Rome, & vnderstanding that the Senate had confirmed the election of Heliogabalus, stayed in the borders of Greece: for that to returne vnto Phoenicia was very far, & to saile vnto Italie, no lesse late. The winter being past, Mesia in the prime of the Spring sayled into Italie, directing her course stright vnto Rome, where she was wel received, and no lesse feasted: although

C. iii.

it be

it be most true, at that instant shee was more feared, then beloued: but shee was of so great skill, and of so much patience, that shee most wisely could dissemble iniurie, and accept and also gratifie seruice. Mesia was so prudente and aduised, that neither in countenaunce, gesture, wordes or wozkes, she did either secretly or openly, discouer any malice against any person: but dealt with all persons as with her sonnes, and honoured al men as her brethrene. All the Romanes were so pleased with the grauitie of her speach, and the honestie of her life, that on a day the Senate & people being conioyned, requested with great instance, that it might please her to accept the governement of the common wealth, since she had therein so great experiance, and that her nephue was in Asia. To this demaund Mesia auerswered. Fathers conscript, I do greatly gratifie your request, which vnto me appertayneth not: for that it rather agreeth with the condition of women, to breede and nourish Emperours, and vnto men to gouerne Empires.

Whan these matters passed in Rome, Heliogabalus stayed in Phoenicia, attending an answere from his grandmother Mesia: who being aduertised that he was accepted in Rome for their absolute Lord, & souereigne Emperour, came immediatly vnto Antioch, with intent the yeare following to passe into Italie. Heliogabalus finding himselfe escaped, & frely delivred from the church, confirmed Emperour, dispatched of the hands of tutours, absent from his grandmother, and in possession of libertie, to live at his likynge, his euill inclination presently appeared: because the vertue (if he had any) of his former life, was but feyned: for the euill inclination of young men, may for a time be dissembled: but being at libertie, they cannot cloake it. The first insolencie of Heliogabalus committed in Asia, was, he appauleed himselfe in a robe woren w<sup>th</sup> gold, silke, cotton, flax, & woll, large downe vnto h<sup>is</sup> shote, sewen all ouer w<sup>th</sup> pearles & precious stones: and set a crowne on his head as for the maner of Thyara, bracelets on his armes, & earings on his eares: in such maner, that vnto the simple hee gaue

occa-

occasion to gaze, vaine persons to talke, and wise men to wonder. All that winter he gaue him selfe to learning, not of science, but to playe on dyommes, fluites, and such other pipes, to daunce as a shepheard, & rustically to sing as a man of the countrie, and to icst as a Juggler: in such wise, that for him selfe he sought out schooles agreeable vnto the life which he meant to leade. The spryng of the yeare beeing come, Heliogabalus departed towardes Rome, where at the porche of Hostia, his grandmother Mesia received him: and when shee sawe her nephue, in such libertie of life, and so straunge in apparell, shee was touched with no small disgrace, in respect of suche Romanes as did accompanie her: and no lesse offended of the priuete and fauoured seruauntes that did attende him. The matrone Mesia was so wise in her counsels, and so aduised in her actes, that shee conferred with her nephue in secrete, cravng molte instantly, that in no wise he shoulde aduenture to enter Rome with that manner of garment: for that it might falle out, in beholding him in the habite of so straunge attyre, they wold bothe mutine and be scandalized.

Heliogabalus gaue god eare vnto the counsell of his grandmother, but her request he leste utterly unperfoumed, whiche was vnto her no small griefe and displeasure: for that shee heard it with her owne eares, and the Romanes also saide it vnto her face, howe contrary the actes of her nephue were to the wytting that shee had sent touching him out of Asia.

Heliogabalus beeing arrived at Rome, was received of the common people with greate toye and solemnite: but the auncient and noble personages of Rome, beholding his presumption in commandring, his rashe and hastie speache, his greedinesse in faddinge, his straungeenesse in attyre, and vnseddiness and wantonnesse in gesture, could not satisfie them selues with sighting, & much lesse with murmuring. Whan a certeine Senaour demaunded the matrone Mesia, why sh<sup>e</sup> did permit her

E. v.

nephue

nephue to be clad in a vesture, so vnaccustomed, sighing  
she aunswere; It grieueth me not so much of his straunge  
attire, as of his wicked manners; because we may steale his  
garmente, but his lewde condicions wee cannot alter. To  
celebrat certeine feasts named Quirinales, Heliogabalus  
commaunded manie beastes to be slaine: and the moste  
auncient and honourable Senatours to bear the spittes,  
being stred vnto lances: in such wise, that he thought to  
do them no small honour, vnto whome he gaue a lance and  
a spitte. The matrone Mesia beholding her nephue He-  
liogabalus, euerie day increasing from better to woorse,  
the people of him to grove into hatred, and that he woulde  
neither beleeue her, either as muche as reuerence her,  
she sorgate not to leaue Rome, and to returne into Phoe-  
nicia, where she had leste her house, and also her ri-  
ches.

## CHAP. IX.

Of manie vices that were conteined in the  
Emperour Heliogabalus.

To reporte at large all the vices of Heliogabalus, were  
to empie and drawe dyre droppe by droppe the riuere  
Nilus, or to wade the great riuere of Danubie: because they  
are so manie, so vile, and so scandalous, that it shoulde be  
shame to wryte them, and losse time to read them. Of ma-  
ny we shall wryte a fewe, and of the moste vile the leaste dis-  
honest: to the ende, y all men whiche shall see or read this  
writting, may conceiue the deserued blame of the Romans,  
to holde and suffer such a beaste for their Emperour: for  
that he was not onely vnmeet to gouerne a common-  
wealth; but also his life in him was moste euill imploy-  
ed.

We wil wryte partly of his euill life, to discouer vnto men  
his euill end: for as y diuine Plato saide, though men can  
cloke

## Emperour Heliogabalus. 411

cloke and dissemble others faultes: yet do not the Goddes  
pardon their iniuries. This vnsfortunate Prince was  
vicious, absolute, dissolute, and (wherof we haue moste  
to wonder) neuer wered in his wickednes: soz, if vertue  
be tedious, vice is yrkesome. Heliogabalus entring the  
Empire, presently his house was furnished with lyars,  
Jugglers, & iesters: vnto whome he neither denied the  
entrie of his chamber, or the secretes of his house. Helio-  
gabalus greatly delighted to playe and represent the fable  
and storie of Paris the Troyan, and the Goddesse Venus,  
who with his complices were clad in such garmentes, as  
in the chiefeſt of their playe fell from them, and discou-  
red their nakednesse: that vnto all graue persons, occasi-  
on was giuen of murmuring; and to all light persons, of  
laughing.

This deede was not onely of greate indignitie, but al-  
so escandalous to be represented of a Prince: for it  
sufficeth not, that Prinees be honest in their owne per-  
sons: but they must not permitte either worde or deede  
that is vnhonest, to be saide or done in their presence.  
They did verely celebrate a certeine feast named Salabos-  
na, which continued threé dayes, in the firſte day they  
were washed and let bloud, on the ſeconde they ſighed and  
were ſilent, and on the thirde they feasted and reioyced  
in their moſte costly attyre, in the memorie of Adonides  
the greatest louer that had beene in the wolde: the ende  
of this feast was, to repreſent the trauels, ſighes, ſor-  
rowes, graces and disgraces, that louers ſustained beſore  
their loueigne delight was obtained. Heliogabalus had  
in his chamber a young man named Zotipus, of bodye,  
face, and gesture, verie faire and gracius: but of ma-  
ners and conditions no leſſe corrupted: for that in his  
wordes he was a lyar, in dealing double, falle of pro-  
mife, periured of his olde, and malitious in all his  
thoughtes.

Heliogabalus was oft aduertised of the wordes, deedes,  
and lewd life of Zotipus: but as affection did moze reigne

in him, then reason, so could he neither be seperated from his conversation, or gaine credit to anie reporte that was saide of him, accompting gibes and iestes, gratiouse recreac-  
tions: guile, liuelynesse of spirite:deceites, diligence: crosse  
dealinge, pastime:and malice, subtiltie. Verie worthy  
was Zotipus of chasticemente, and Heliogabalus of much  
greater reprehensiō:because if princes haue licence to dis-  
semble the faultes of their fauoured seruaunts, they ought  
not to allowe and confirme them: for of great reason none  
ought to be so acceptable vnto the prince, that openly dare  
aduenture to committe euill. At the time of his repaste,  
he did manie times commaunde Philosophers and oratores  
to appeare in his presence, not to dispute of naturall cour-  
ses, but of vnchaste adulteries. At time of conference with  
" Ambassadours, Senatores, or other graue persons, he would  
" either play with his handes, or twinkle and winke with  
" his eyes, in such wise, that suters departed with disgrace,  
" and not answere. As concerning women he neither spa-  
" red matrones, married women, virgins, or widowes:  
" but that all such as he fauoured, he either obtained, or else  
" defamed.

" In drinking he was also disordinate, for at some times  
" he woulde drinke water, somtimes wine, somtimes ale,  
" somtimes sider, somtimes sodde water, somtimes golden  
" water, some times stild water, and at other times he  
" woulde not drinke, but brothes and collettes. In the man-  
" ner of his feeding, he neither vsed authozitie, or obserued  
" gravitie: for at some times, he woulde eate sittinge in a  
" chaire, sometimes on a benc, and somtimes walking: for  
" he vsed to say, that in suche manner, he did both eate and  
" digest. Naturally hee was giuen to sleepe verie little,  
" through the weakenesse of his braine: and slepte in all pla-  
" ces without respect, as well in the temple, as in the Se-  
" nate, in the garden, in the bath, in the bedde, and also in  
" the market place: in suche wise, that hee wanted force  
" to resist the leaste motions and affections of his inclina-  
" tion.

Heliog.

Heliogabalus did inuent at Rome, a certeine manner of  
feasting named, Festum vindemiarum, that is to saye, the  
feast of grapegathering: whiche feast was so dissolute & vi-  
laine, vnto the viewe of þ common people, that after-  
wards in Rome they never cōsented to þ celebrazatiō therof.  
He was also greatly addicted to playe at tennis, and whē  
he was offendid with any olde Senatour, either any an-  
cient or honourable Romane, he would sende for him to  
playe and accompany him: with whome he would playe  
so much, that in the end the sorrowfull gentleman shoulde  
departe vnto his house, both tyzed, beswett, and drudged,  
and also many times despoyled of his money. He went verie  
seldome vnto the temples, was verily vnde and bar-  
ren of all friendship or affection vnto wise men, was never  
seen to read in booke, greatly abhorred suters & affaires,  
was negligent, either to paye or refourme the armes,  
made small accompt either of friendes or enimies: final-  
ly, he was addicted vnto his owne opinion, and a mo-  
tall enimie vnto reason.

## CHA P. X.

¶ Of a letter written by the great matrone Mesia  
vnto her nephue the Emperour  
Heliogabalus.

The greate matrone Mesia being aduertised in Asia,  
of her nephue Heliogabalus so farre enraged with vice  
in Rome, did write him a letter after this manner.

My sonne Heliogabalus, when thou departedst  
from Asia vnto Rome, I hoped to haue heard such  
newes of thee, as might be ioyfull to thy common  
wealth, and haue giuen vnto mee greate renoune &  
glorie: but as I am aduertised here, and also giuen to  
vnder-

ynderstand from thence , there thou doest minister matter for all men to murmur : and here vnto mee sufficient cause to weepe . Sixtie sixe yeares are past since I was borne into this wôrld , in which I haue buried and bewailed my father Torquatus , my mo- ther Aristina , my sister Phillis , and her husbande Tharsus . Also I buried and bewailed my husband Aristippus , my sonne Lucius Francus , my daughter Dolobella , and her husband Martianus . Also I be- wailed and buried the good Emperour Marcus Aure- lius , and the Empresse Faustina my good and gra- tious Ladie : in whose house I was borne , and in whose palace I was married . I also buried and be- wailed the Emperour Commodus , the Emperour Pertinax , Annius Pastor mine vnkle , Mirtha mine aunte , Camillus my nephue , and Joanna my neece . Also I buried and bewailed the Emperour Scuerus , my onely good Lorde and famous Em- perour . Also I bewailed and buried thine vnfortu- nate father , my deare and mooste desired sonne: whose name I dare not , either any other , expresse in my presence: because the sounde therof constraineth mee to breake foorth in teares . I thought it expedi- ent (my sonne) to leade thee vnto remembrance of al these thy predecessours , to the ende thou mayst see , howe small reason it were , that I should bewaile the liuing , since I haue wept all the dayes of my life , for so many persons that are dead . When thou wast borne by sthealthe , and I did both hide and couer thee: when I did remoue thee from Rome , and brought thee vnto Grecia : when I caused thee to be instruc- ted in Grecke letters , and bred and nourished thee in companie of wise men : when I did offerte thee vnto the

the God Heliogabalus , and made thee a priest in his sacred temple: I thought (my sonne) that all these thinges should serue mee for ioye and peace in my re- posed age : and not to bewaile thy childishe youth- fulnesse .

In this I acknowledge, how free the iudgements of the Gods are from the thoughtes of men : in that the gods determine one thing , and men suppose an- other : which hath chaunced both vnto thee and to mee (O my sonne Heliogabalus: ) because the chil- dishnesse which thou doest vse , and the vices thou possest , I did not onely thinke , thou wouldst not committe : but also , that in thy minde they shoulde neuer haue had passage . When I did place thee with the greate prieste Gorgias , caused thee to be appa- rayled in the sacred vesture , prayedst daily vnto the gods , and also euery weeke diddest offer sacrifice in the temple : I hoped thou shouldest haue proued a Paragon in vertue , and not (as thou arte ) a mon- ster in all vice .

If thou wouldest consider , many thinges do per- suade , and also binde thee to be good , but nothinge prouoketh thee to be euill : that is to weete , to be a man reasonable , to haue beene a priest , to be borne in Rome , to be nowe an Emperour , to haue nour- ished thee in my house , and to be descended of bloud so noble and generous: for it much prouoketh men to perfourme that which they ought to do , & to re- member from whence they be descended . Beleue mee , my sonne , that with lesse cost , and more ease , thou shalt be vertuous , then vicious : because vices content the fleshe when they are committed , and tor- ment the hearte after they be perfourmed: but vertues yelde

yclede not so much griefe in their woorking, as pleasure when we haue giuen repulse vnto vice. I may not comprehend the froward fortune that foloweth thee, or the sorrowfull destinies which haue pursued mee: since I nourished thee in trueth, and thou prouest, and arte become a lyar: I bred thee chaste, and thou arte imbrued with impudicitie: I brought thee vp in temperance, & thou hast stained thy selfe with excesse and gluttonie: I trayned thee in shamefastnesse, and thou rendrest a life moste dissolute: and that which is woorst aboue the rest, thou doest neither feare to offend the Gods, or escandalize men. Admitting thou wouldest not be good, for any offence vnto the Gods that haue created thee, or anye griefe or scandal vnto men with whome thou doest liue: yet oughtest thou so to be, to remoue all heauinesse and displeasure from mee thy olde and sorrowfull grandmother: since thou knowest, I bought for thee the Empire, by the weight of moncy drawnen out of my chestes, and by force of teares issuing & breaking from mine entrailes. My sonne, thou doest well knowe, that to make thee a Romane Prince, I gaue create giftes vnto the temples, offered vnto the Gods infinite sacrifices, gaue vnto the Pretorians all my treasures, made vnto the Priestes great offers, & sent vnto the Senatours moste riche iewels, all which is nothing: for if it had beene possible, I would haue giuen my bloud vnto the immortall Gods, that thou mightest be one of them. And if I haue erred in purchasing the Empire, much more should I erre to make thee one of the Gods, since in thee no vertue is to be founde, either any vice wanting. The Gods haue made thee faire of face, gallant of proportion,

stout

stout of strength, learned in letters, expert in armes, valiant of heart, delicate in iudgement, and bolde in perils: but what profiteth all these graces, since thou art so greate an enimie of others counsel: and so farre enamored of thys owne proper iudgement? Thou followest vanitie, as one moste inconstant: thou dost prosecute thine age, as one ouerchildishe: thou pursuest sensualitie, as one most wilfull in follies: which thing for a while may be dissembled, but long time may not be suffered: in such wise, that either the Empire shal be lost betwixt thine handes: or thou must dye within fewe dayes. As the seate of the Empire is consecrated vnto the Gods, so they suffer not euil Princes long to reigne: which thou mayst consider in Tyberius, Caligula, Claudio, Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Domitian, Commodus, Julianus, Bassianus & Niger, al which had so euil an ende, that wherè the yron of the enimie entred, by the same place the soule departed. Oh my sorrowful and vnfourtunate sonne Bassianus: of whome vntil this time I goe laden with sorrowes: and also thou hast to holde it for moste certeine, that since thou arte a disciple of his euil manners, so shalt thou be also a follower of his most miserable death. Being verie young, and as then but a childe, I hearde my Lorde Marcus Aurelius verie oft saye, that the immortall Gods did sooner slaye euil Princes, then other wicked persons: because the euil man, is only euil vnto his owne house and person: but the euil prince liueth to the hurte of the whole comon wealth. I bought not the Empire, for any other cause, but chiefly to renue the memorie of the good Emperour Antoninus Pius: but alas alas of mee: whoe greatly feare

and also hold it for certeine, that as in Nero the generation of the Cæsars finished: even so in thee the sincere linage of the Antonines shalbe ended.

In the dayes that I remained at Rome, I vnderstoode, and since I came into Asia, I haue also seene, that by the prosperitie of a good man, many be aduanced: and by mishap of a wicked person, many finish and decaye.

I am aduertised, that in thy house and chamber, men of wicked life, and little wisedome, haue free entraunce and familiaritat: which in princes houses, is verie perillous; and no lesse pernicious: for that such persons do procure thee to followe the counsels which they shall giue, and to dissemble the excesse which they shall committ. If thou bee cuill, and such as attende thee be wicked: howe maist thou haue hardinesse to chastice any cuill? To resourme others, thou must firste resourme thy selfe: and to chastice others, thou hast firste to punishe thy seruaunts: for that, if the priuate and fauoured seruaunts of Princes be dissolute, the common wealth doeth fall out to be absolute. In the reigne of my lorde Marcus Aurelius, I sawe his courte furnished with verious persons, and in the dayes of his sonne Commodus, I sawe his house filled with wicked people: and am welable to saye vnto thee, my sonne, that as their houses were, so was their common wealths. If thou wilt liue in quiet, go alwayes in peace, and auoide suspicion: keepe in thyne house continually men of honestie, gratitie, and wisedome, because honourable and wise men in Princes houses, yealte authoritie with their persons, and profit with their counsels.

Nowe,

Nowe, or neuer, thou maist withdrawe thine hande, cease to be euil, and binde thy selfe to bee good: because of all that is past, we will impute the fault to thy youth: which if thou refusest to do, then will wee referre it wholie vnto thy wilfull vanitie. It profiteth not a litle for the healpe of good gouernement of the common wealth, that the Prince be of good life: for subiects hauing good Princes, imitate what they see, and perfourme what they commaunde.

### CHAP. XI.

¶ Of certeine lawes which the Emperour Heliogabalus made in Rome.

Heliogabalus made certeine lawes, wherof some were good, some indifferent, and others neither good nor euill, but moste vaine: for as he vied to saye, so greate authoritie haue Princes in their kingdomes, as the gods in the heauens. He made a lawe that no vespall virgine should make a vowe of chastitie, but to stande at her libertie to be inclosed, or to be married: for he helde opinion, that women were verry weake to perfourme vowes: and at every houre, variable of opinion and advise. He made a lawe, that no widowe might marrie within a yeaire of her husbandes death: on the one parte suffici-ently to bewaile the dead, and on the other parte, exactly to consider of him that shoulde marrie her. He made a lawe, that no fleshe, breade, wine, or any fruite shoulde be solde in Rome by viewe, but by weight and measurer: because in selling of thinges by weight and measure, they are bought according to their value, and not as they are praised.

¶ ff.ii.

¶

He made a lawe that al taylers in receiving garments to make, shoulde take the same by weight, to auoyd purloyning of any parte thereof. He made a lawe that no young man vnder the gouvernement of father, mother, or tutour, might give, take, or playe any money: because it were to be presupposed, that such a one, being in no possession of inheritance, had either stolne, or made some euil marke. He made a lawe that all maides, having attained the age of xv. yeares, might marrie, althoughe their parents would not thereunto consent: for he vsed to saye, that good parents haue more care to marrie one daughter, then to breed x. sonnes. He made a lawe, that on holy dayes, and dayes of publique feastes and ioye, they shoulde not openly burie their dead: saying, it were an euil signe vnto the common wealth, if at the time of ioy, others should begin to weepe. He made a lawe, that no Romane shoulde presume to thowte out at drowne, any seruaunt, slauie, or horse, or any other beast, were it but a dogg, either for any olde age or sicknesse: saying, that for the same purpose, men serue from their youth, to be succoured when they come to age. He made a lawe, that punishment shoulde not be giuen vnto theues as Judges cōmaunded, but at the wil of the persons which were robed: affirming theast to be so soule a fault, that by the hands of all persons they deserued chasciment. He made a lawe, that no citizen of Rome shoulde presume to drowne, to strangle, or hang his slauie for any offence: saying, that to the Gods alone, and to Princes, power is giuen to slaye and kill, and to others onely to punishe. He made a lawe, that if any married woman shoulde committ adulterie with any kinsman or friend of her husband, he might neither chascice, reproue or blame her, if shee shrowed that her husband had first brought him to her house: affirming: that a woman naturally of her selfe is weake, and beeing moued by any occasion, hath no power to make resistance. He made a lawe, that frely all manner of persons within the walles of Rome, might departe from

from their wifes, and their wifes from their husbands, after syre yeares mariage: affirming, that since from yere to yere was a long tyme to chaunge a garment, it were not much, that from syre to syre, there shoulde be chaunge of mariage. He made a lawe, that in all Rome they shoulde haue no shoppes wherin to sell compoud medicines, but only simples and holesome hearbes, to avoide resemblance of tauernes, wherein they solde newe wines, but in shoppes only old medicines. He made a lawe, that none shoulde marrie in Rome but with his equal: that is to saye, a merchant with a merchant, a goldsmith w/ a goldsmith, a seruaunt with a seruaunt, & a rusticall with a rusticall: for he helde opinion, that men, in making vnequall marriages, do inforce themselves to more then they may, and spend much more then they ought. He made a lawe, that when any house burneu in Rome, all the neigbourhod shoulde runne to the healp and succour thereof, vpon the paine of any mans default therein, to contribute to the repairing thereof. Many other lawes were made by Heliogabalus, as Historiographers of him do report, of greate indigneitie to be wriuen, and no lesse vnshamefasse to be reade.

## CHAP. X II.

¶ Howe Heliogabalus was thrice married, and of his marrying of the Gods together.

After that Heliogabalus was come from Asia, he stayed in Rome an whole yeare without marriage: after which time he married with a gentlewoman of Rome, beautifull of face, and noble of blond: and it well appeareth, that he rather married her for beautie, then noble-nesse: for that a yeare beeing scarcely passed, he was diuorced.

He did not onely remoue her from all honour , but also cast her out of his house , spoyled her of all her Jewels and apparel , and constrained her by spinning and weaving openly to get her living . The first wife being reputate, he grewe enamoured of one of the vestal virgins, whome he remoued out of the churche , and openly espoused: for which fact, the Senate was not a little grieved , & Rome no lesse scandalized : because the vestal virgines , were offered in the temples unto the Gods, and sworne and vowed to perpetual chastitie . After he understood the griefe of the Senate , and the murmuring of y people, he mourned one day into the Senate , and willed them not to be sorrowfull for his marriage with a vestall virgin, for that if it were an offence , it were but an humaine offence : and being (as he was) a Priest, it apperteined not unto him to marrie, but with a woman that were a Priest: and if that were not sufficient , yet it sufficed that he was a Prince and an Emperour moste supreme , unto whose greatnesse it appertained to make lawes , without all obligation to obserue them . Note then a yere, and lesse then twaine , he was married unto this vestall virgin : to whome, as to the first, he gaue a libell of diuorce : and the sorrowfull woman came to so greate and miserable poverty , that if the other did obteine living by spinning, this did purchase the same by adulterie: in such wise, that of a consecrated virgin, and of a noble Empresse , shée became a common adulteresse . He married the third time with a widow , and matrone of Rome , and for better occasion he would oft saye , that shée was descended from the lineage of Commodus: and that from thence forth he would not take a wife, but of blond very high, of beautie singular , and of condition mosle discrete . Heliogabalus " would oft saye , any Prince might escape error in his " first marriage: that is to saye , if shée were of base condic- " tion , to esteeme her of no reputation: if shée were soule , " to abhorre her: and if shée were foolish , to kill her .

Heliogabalus proceeded unto so greate madnesse, that  
he

he did not onely deride humaine marriages , but also scoffed at divine matrimonyes: for that he determined openly to marrie his God Heliogabalus , and to celebrate matrimony with some other Goddess . The case was thus, that the thing which the Romanes held vnder greatest grarde, reverence , and veneration , was the Image of the Goddess Pallas , which was saide to fall from heauen vppen the walles of Troye: this Image Heliogabalus comandied to be taken out of the churche , where shée remained hidden , and to be transferred unto his house; and from the day that shée was brought from Troye, was never stoe with mannes eye vntil that daye . He made a coche of plate ouer gilded , aloft whereon he placed the Goddess Pallas , apparellled in riche robes , and charged with mosle precious jewels: one of the Oren wherewith the coche was dralwen , was white without any spott of blacke: and the other was blacke without any spott of white . Heliogabalus went before with a goad in his hande , guyding the Oren , and turning his face alwayes towardes the Chariot , in such manner , that still to behold the Goddess , he marched backwardes . The Romanes understanding , that Heliogabalus would that day playe the Carter , prouided from the imperiall palace unto the temple , a broade and a sandie waye , that in his backwarde walke he shold not finde whereto to stumble , much lese to fall . And when they were all come unto the churche , they tooke the God Heliogabalus , and the Goddess Pallas , married them , and ioyned them as man and wife , and made them a right sumptuous bedd in the midst of the temple , where they ioynly slept all that night . The Romanes received no small griefe, to behold Heliogabalus committ such follies: for that presuming (as they presumed) to be so greate worshippers of the Gods , it seemed unto them that in making such marriages , was to deride the Gods: and it might happen , that what he did but in ieste, they might repaye in earnest .

Polwe, when these Gods were espoused, Heliogabalus woulde solemnize that mariage with toyes: for which purpose, he commaunded the Circene playes to be prepared: wherin he commaunded infinite beastes to be slaine, and the fleshe of them all, both good & bad, to be eaten of all persons: in such wise, that there they did eate Lions, Beares, Woolues, Tygers, Unicorns, Dunces, Horses, Asses, Doggs, Beeces, Buffes, & other wilde beastes, Bores excepted, which they vsed not to eate in Phoenicia, where he was bred and nourished. Polwe, when all these beastes were finished, and al playes perfourmed and concluded, Heliogabalus woulde make a shew of the greatness of his myre, and the wealth and riches of his person: and being aduaunced vpon the highest steps or degees of the churche, he shewe amongst the circumstantes, a great summe of money, and no lesse riches in iewels: for the frankling and getting wherof, manie were wounded, choket, strangled, and slaine: and the hurte was not so small, but that muche greater was the sorrowe in Rome and all Italie, for the greate numbers whiche there died: then anie pleasure of the money whiche they had gotten.

## CHAP. XIII.

Howe Heliogabalus solde offices, and practised manie vanities.

Heliogabalus did marke and sell all offices of iustice, & of the Senate, as well Censors & Edils, as Pretors and Tribunes, in such wise, that he which gaue most money, althoughe lesse vertuous, did bear greatest office. It was a custome in Rome, to electe no Senator, excepte he were in lineage an auncient Patritian: and of age, at the leaste fiftie yeares: but he made his election (for the most parte) of base persons, as gardeners, potters, and taylers: and other

other young men of the age of xx. yeares. He did not onely sell the offices of the common wealth, but also of the governement of his house: as porters, cookes, caterers, chamberlains, and auditours: whereof followed, that at times when he woulde dispatch them for their evill seruice, they woulb plead, that they had bought it of him for monie.

Heliogabalus being a friend vnto iesters, and greatly delighting in their conuersation, it happened agaist the celebration of the feast of May, in the even thereof, xx. cartes loades of Roses were brought vnto the Court, which being cast all into one chamber, against the next dayes feast, he commaunded those iugglers and iesters to be thrullen amongest those Roses, which being many, and they overwhelmed therein, were all strangled with Roses. He did never eate but at tables of siluer, or sit in chaire that was not wrought with siluer, gold, and Unicorne: and all the psonion of pots, skilets, ladels, spits, and all other things of the kitchin, were of siluer, and his cookes in silke. Secretely Heliogabalus commaunded an hundred pitchars of flies to be taken, and being brought to the Court, he feasted certaine Romanes: and being then Summer and time of great heate, and in chiefe of their dinner, he commaunded his hungry flies to be set at large, who with their libertie gaue an onset vpon the guestes, as vpon a campe of enimies, in such wise, that the guestes gaue themselves to flight, and the flies late downe to eate.

On the day of the great feast of his God, all the sacred Senate, and whole multitude of people, offering sacrifices in the temple, and all the doores fast shut, soudeinly he caused to be set loose amongst þ troupes of people, an hundred cattes, feyne thousand rattes, an hundred greyhounds, & a thousand hares: where the fighte and slaughter was so great, and the confusion, rumble, and crie of people so extreme, that it seemed, hee went rather to scorne the Gods, then offer sacrifices.

The chamber where he slept, his Gallerie where he walkeb, the place where he did eate, & also dispatche affayres,

was alwayes swept, not with broomes of any comen mater, but of thredes of gold: which office he gaue vnto one of the chieff persons of his Court. When he would at any tyme walke a litle on foote, it was not on hard ground, but on sand of gold. Heliogabalus was not satisfied to weare shooes of any silke, or velvet, either of clothe of gold, or gold wrought with the hauner: but the soles were of Vnicorne, and gold of Nilus: and the instep and upper part therof set with pearle and most rich stones: in such wise, that Heliogabalus shooes were of more value, then the crowne of Iulius Cæsar, or Auguslus. He was much addicted to weare rings on hisingers, and sometimes would weare them of brasse, yron, lead, amber, and of leather: in such wise, that this prince, the more to discouer his madnesse, did weare shooes of gold, and ringes of leather. On a tyme there came from Alexandria, 10. shippes laden with great and most precious riches: and vnderstanding that they were arrived at the porte of Hostia, secreteley he commaunded the mariners to sticke them: whereof beeing reprooued in the Senate, hee answere: that thereby they had to vnderstand his small couetousnes, for that he spent the riches of the earth, and dwowned that which came by sea. Heliogabalus was prodigall and curios, not onely openly, but also in secrete: for that his Urinall was of Vnicorne, and his stole of fine gold. When he chaunced to issue out of Rome, he had wthm no lesse then 600. wagons, which were al laden, not with chesdes, apparel, either any thing necessarie or apperteyning vnto persons of the Courte: but with women, iesters, musicians, hunters, fishers, exquisite wines, and vintals never heard off: for that he never went forth of Rome to visite countries, or conquere enimies, but to seke delectable places, the more freely to give him selfe to vice. A certaine Senatour demandinge why hee vsed such excesse in spending, he made him answere: My friend, I give the to vnderstand, that none doth inherite but after the death of some person: and therefore I will in my life time, make my selfe mine owne heire.

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The armes did not a litle repent them to haue elected him Emperour, and the Senate no lesse to haue accepted and allowed the same: for that he was so wilfull in all thinges, that he was not onely satisfied to be vitious in all humaine vices: but watched and studed to invent newe wickednes. Mesia the grandmother of Heliogabalus, whiche procured, or (to say better) bought him the Empire, had sufficently aduised and also persuaded him to be god and vertuous: but hee was so obstatinate in his euill, and so bowed and dedicated vnto vice, that hee little esteemed the counsell of his friends, either the threatenings of his enimies.

When his graundmother Mesia perceiued, that god persuasions would neither profite, either great threathenings pearce him with any feare, she remembred to sicke her eyes vpon her other nephue named Alexander, that the one being dead, the other might succee: for she helde it so most certeine, that in fewe dayes, respect being had of his many vices, his Empire should firshe. As Mesia was auncient, prouident, and of experiance: so she perswaded Heliogabalus with such wordes, that he accepted his cousin Alexander as companion of the Empire, whiche election the Senate approued and allowed with great affection, and no lesse gratefull vnto the whole people: and from thence forth, although they obeyed Heliogabalus, yet they did yeald al their loue vnto his cousin Alexander. Heliogabalus being aduertised by certeine Pekromani-like Priestes of Aegypt, that he shold haue a death according vnto his life. (Wherby, he doubted that his life shold be short, and his death shamesfull:) began to devise with him selfe, what kinde of death shold be giuen him by his enimies: and considered, that either they shold cutt his throte, or hang him, or cast him downe frō some rocke, or dwowne him, or end his dayes wth some poyson: & thus it was, he filled a ponde full of rose water, wherin to be dwowned: at the foote of a Tower of his house, he placed golden sande, to fall on: he made twited

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silke halters wherewith to be hanged: hee commannded daggers and swordes of gold, wherewith to be slaine: and conserued poysen in Unicorne boxes, wherewith to be pousoned: all which he prouided of purpose, that at the time of neede he might one way or other end his wretched life: for (as he vsed to say) he greatly did not esteeme to die, if with such, and so stately instruments he might be put to death. But the successe happened quite contrarie to the forcastes of Heliogabalus, as well in dying when hee would not, as in the maner of his death, wherof he did not thincke: for it is a thing notorious vnto all men, that we may neither inlarge our life as we desire, either shunne that death whiche we abhorte.

## C H A P. XIII.

## ¶ Of the shamefull death of the Emperour Heliogabalus.

After that Heliogabalus had accepted his cousen Alexander companion of the Empire, he not a litle repeted him thereof: for that hee clearely perceiued himselfe to bee abhored, and his cousen greatly beloued; he determinately purposed to deprive Alexander of his honour, as also to devise a drift to dispatch him of his life. Manea, the mother of Alexander, vnderstanding the extreeme hatred of Heliogabalus so furiously bent against her sonne Alexander, had ouer him great regard, that he should not walke alone by night, accompany suspicous persons, feede of any meate that were presented, or passe by dangerous places: because she was assured, y to kil him, Heliogabalus sought not occasion, but opportunitie.

After that Heliogabalus found the great gard & watch of the mother and grandmother ouer Alexander, he went on a day vnto the Senate, persuading with sweete words, and after commannding vpon great paines, to take that name Cesar from Alexander, whiche they had giuen him:

this

this demaunde being heard of the whole Senate, every man caste downe his head, and aunswere not so much as one word. When he saue the Senate refuse his request, he did write a letter vnto the Prefects, and most principal of the armies, to give them to understand that from thenceforth they shoulde giue no honour vnto Alexander, much lesse yeld him seruice as vnto Cesar: but the armies finding it rather to procede of his overmuch malice, then of any fault in Alexander, did not obey his comauendements, neither aunswere his letters.

When hee might not persuade the Senatours, or constrainte the armies, he advised to bribe and corrupt his seruants and house hold officers, promising them many and great rewards, if they would temper his meate with some poysen, to rid him of his life. He conferred also with the tutours of Alexander, to finde if he might frame them to lead him forth in to some Orchard or gardeine, or to seeke some deuice to leauue him alone: vnto whome he did not onely promise great riches & wealth, but also promotions to great offices. Heliogabalus perceiving that hee mighte neither corrupt the one, or persuade the other, for that hee was loued of al men, commannded his counterfets openly to be ouerthowen and defiled with dyre: whiche was holden amongst the Romanes, as great an iniurie, as ex-actly to take away a mans life.

On that day in which Heliogabalus had commannded the counterfets of Alexander to be defaced and defiled, he prepared also in secreete, certaine his friends to kill Alexander, if vpon the chaunce of any mutinte that might happen, hee shoulde come forth: for he did beare him so mortall hatred, that it seemed his life to prosper to none effect, if he might not spoile him of his life. The day before this mat-ter grewe to effect, Heliogabalus issued out of Rome, to solace at a gardeine: and when they began to ouerthowen and traile the pictures of Alexander, the Pretors of the armies assembled with great spedee, to stay the same: by whiche meane there was raised no small scandal, in so

much

much that they did not onely repell that infurie, but also pursued Heliogabalus vnto his garden to haue slaine him. All Rome being armed, the mother and grandmother of Heliogabalus, departed with great hast vnto the garden, where he was persuading him to take Alexader in a Licer, and ioyntly to passe through the streets: that after this maner, seeing them both friends, the armes might be pacified and disfeuered. Heliogabalus being utterly vnde of care of the scandal that passed in Rome, attened rather e- very houre with great ioy, y newes of Alexanders death, and the spoile of his pictures. As much as Heliogabalus determined to haue slaine Alexander, so much were the armes purposed to haue killed Heliogabalus: and soz the execution thereof, with great furie they marched to seke him at his garden: vnto whom there came sooth to talke, not himselfe, but his grandmother, of whom shz obteyned at that time the safetie of his life: which they graunted vpon condition, that hee should correct his person, reforme his house, and visite the common wealthes. On the nexte day, they calle sooth and ridd the house of Heliogabalus, of Gabalus, Herodes, Gordius, and Murius, which were his fauoured seruauntes, and companions of his vices: and those in deede, that from a state, conuerted him into an riot. A moneth after these things had passed, and the tumult pacified, in the Calends of Ianus, which is the begining of Januarie, Heliogabalus refused to go vnto the Senate, either to send Alexander his substitute: whereof the Senatours found themselves greatly iniuried, & remayned thereof very suspicions.

And being as then very late at night, when the Senatours cam from the Senate, they there presently at the gates thereof, received commaundement from Heliogabalus, that without all delay vpon paine of their lives, they should depart out of the citie of Rome, without visitation either of house or friend: and as there were of them both sickle and old, so it was lamentable to behold them wande in the darcke, stumbling in those fieldes, and so bitter,

bitterly weeping. The Consuls and Senatours being banished, there remayned in Rome a certaine auncient Consul named Sabinus, a man excellently learned, vnto whom Vlpianus did dedicate his bookes, and of whome the Romanes receiued counsell, in all their graue affaires. This Sabinus, by reason of his great age, came not out of his house: and Heliogabalus thincking hee had no other enemie remayning in all Rome, called a Centurion, and said in his eare, that hee should go vnto Sabinus house and cut off his head: and as it chaunced, the Centurion being deafe, and not vnderstanding the commaundement to haue him slaine, but banished as the othe Senatours, by deſence of the Centurion, Sabinus escaped with his life.

The Praetorians and men of warre being aduertised, that Heliogabalus had banished the Consuls and Senatours, and also commaunded the god old Sabinus to bee slaine, strangled Siluius, tutour vnto Alexander, and remoued Vlpianus from his Censorship: with furious rage wente vnto the Courte, and breaking the gates they slue Heliogabalus, and his mother that bare him: and they killed, not onely all his seruauntes, but also his cattes and dogges, his Parratts, hozles, peacockes, and monkyes: in such wise, that in all his house they leſte nothinge alive.

When Heliogabalus vnderſtoode the breaking vp of his gates, and the slaughter of his household, thincking to ſave his person, hid himſelfe in a priuie vp to the chinne, where they diſcharged him of his head: in ſuch wiſe, that conſorſable to his filthie life, hee received a naſtie death. Al- though Heliogabalus and his mother were ioyntly ſlaine, yet moſt truly ſhe diſcovered a moze noble minde: for that ſhe died in her chamber as a Ladie, and haſt cowartsly in a priuie. Heliogabalus and his mother being dead, they tooke their naked & mangled bodies, and traileſ them in the dirte alongeſt the ſtreates vnto Tiber, in the depth whereof they were caſt to be eaten of fyſhe, and not to bee ſought or found of men.

Many Princes, his predeceſſours, & ſuccelours were very quill,

euil, wicked of life, and pernicious vnto the cōmon wealth: but amongst all, Heliogabalus alone was hee, in whome was found no god worke: so he alone wanted a Sepulchre. By this Prince, all princes ought to take example, to shie wilfulness, and the hatred of their people: because a detested life remoueth all merite of honourable buriall.

The Romanes not satissid to haue slaine, drawen, and drownyd Heliogabalus, ouerthrew and whirled stones at his counterfets that were placed in the Capitol, & scrapt out his name in all places wher it was witten: and the more to discouer their hatred, they did not onely kil all his seruautes and friends, but burned all his apparell and leuels: in such wise, that of him remayned no other memorie in Rome, but the report of his name, wherat they did spet on the ground.

Heliogabalus reigned 6. yeares, 3 monethes, and tenne dayes: he liued 32. yeares, 4. monethes, and fve dayes: wherof 26. yeares he was a young man, very vertuous, & a priest withdrawen and also solitarie: the other 6. yeares hee was an Emperour more absolute and vicious, then ever reigned in the Romane Empire: for that the vices which were scattered in other persons, were found ioyntly in his possession.

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trone Manea, compiled by Syr Anthonic of Gu-  
uara, bishop of Mondonnedo, preacher,  
chronicler and counsellour, vnto the  
Emperour Charles the  
fifte.

## C H A P. I.

¶ Of the nouriture and naturall countrie  
of the Emperour Alexander  
Seuerus.



V R E L I V S Alexander was natural-  
ly an Assyrian borne, his father was na-  
med Varius, and his mother Manea: hee  
was couisen germane vnto the emperour  
Heliogabalus, for their mothers were si-  
sters: and although he were borne in Af-  
siria, yet he was bred and nourished in Rome: for that in  
those dayes his grandmother, the great matrone Mesia,  
gouerned Seuerus & his household, and also the whole com-  
mon wealth. Alexander was tall of body, of blacke curled  
haire, fallow & leane faced, with great eyes, a thicke short  
necke, his hands drie, and of bigge sinewes, slender legged,  
high of instep, and his complexion somewhat cholericke, but  
much flegmatike, which afterwards he discouered in the  
course of his life: because he was mild of conuersation, and  
in gouernement pitiful. Alexander was borne in the citie  
of Arseni, Septimus Seuerus being Emperour: hee was  
nourished the first fourre yeares in Assyria, & then brought  
vnto Rome, vnder the gouernement of his grandmother,  
where after she had kept him with her, other thre yeares  
in Rome, she returned him into Assyria: partly to auoyde  
the idle nouriture of the Court, and also for that Bassianus  
should not murther him. The presages of his Empire  
were

G.

were these: it was found most truly, that on the day that Alexander Magnus died, this Alexander Aurelius was borne: & at the time of child birth his mother came to visite the Sepulchre of Alexander, where she fell in travell and brought forth this sonne, who was named Alexander, his neurse being called Olympia, and his tutour Philip: which were the two names of the father & mother of Alexander Magnus. The selfe same day that Alexander was borne, there came an old woman to her house, and offered unto her mother a red egge, which a stocke doue had layd at y houre: aduouching that red egge to signifie no other matter, but y the same child shold be Emperour. Manea the mother of this prince, was a woman very wise, prudent, aduised, and no lesse faire: and the speciall cause why shee deserved so greatly to be esteemed and honoured, was: because no Romane woman did excede her in honestie of person, either was equal unto her in keeping her house. As this matrone Manea naturally was vertuous, and inclined unto god, so she had great solicitude to nourishe & instruct her sonne Alexander in god maners, and to learne god and profitable sciences: and to the end he shold not forget, in the compa-  
nie of other yonge men, what he had learned of his masters and tutores, she set great watch, that none were permitted, either to talke, conser, or to be conuersant with him, y were not wise & learned. After that Alexander was able to goo, his mother taught him to be temperate in diet, neat in his apparel, reposed in his pace, and reformed in his speach. He held so great measure in all thinges apperteyning to god maners, sincerite in vertues, and cleannesse from all vice, (which that age alwayes doth yeld) y all men (unto whom he was knownen) said, that it was as much to see Alexander in time of his youth, as Tullius when he was an old man. It was not to be found all the time hee was gouerned by his mother, that any one day hee did passe without learning or exercise, either in letters or cheualrie: wherof they both deserved perpetuall praise, which is to witt, the mother in her comandements, & the sonne for his obedience.

Many

Many sonnes would proue good, if their fathers had knowlede to give them instructions: neither would so many proue euil, if they did yeld obedience vnto their parents: to whiche purpose the diuine Plato said in his booke of common wealth, that that familie was happie & blessed, where the parents were prudent, & the children obedient. Manea vsed most speciall vigilancie in the gard of her sonne, not onely from all vsual vices, but also vicious persons: for that many times, good inclinations are corrupted by vicious conuersation. In his infancie his scholamasters were Valerius, Gordius, & Viturius: this Viturius was he that afterwards was most esteemed in his house, and wrote the piske of his life, which historie was lost when the Gothes entered Rome. His maister for Grammar, was Nebon the Grecian: in Philosophie, Estelion the first: and in Rhetorike, Serapio the vertuous: & afterwards when he cam to Rome, he had for his maisters, Escarius, Iulius, and Marcius: graue persons to instruct, & learned to teach. Above all other Romane princes, Alexander was a friend of wise men, for whom he made diligent search, & enriched them if they were pore, honoured, entertrained, & gaue them credite when they counselled him: finally, a wise ma of him never received an ill answere, or soad in his house any doze that against him. Being demanded, why he did so generally delight in the wise & learned, he answered: I loue them for that whiche they know, & honour them so that whiche they may: for in time to come, vnder their histories whiche they shall wryte, our name shal shine and flourish. Alexander, in the dayes of his youth, was deadly hated of his cousin Heliogabalus: & this proceded, not of the sharpe condicione of Alexander, but for the euil nature of Heliogabalus: that is to say, for that he woulde not consent to be a companion in his wickednes, as by birth he was his kinsman. There were never two princes so conioyned in parentage, so nere in succession, & so different in liues, as Heliogabalus, & Alexander: for y in Heliogabalus there was not one vertue to be praised, either in Alexander one vice to be reprehensib.

G. H.

CHAP.

## CHAP. II.

¶ Howe Alexander was aduanced vnto the Empire, and of his laudable manners.

Two yeares before the Preforians killed Heliogabalus the Emperour, Alexander was elected Augustus, to his great grace, liking, and conformitie of al the Romane people: whereof proceeded, that on the day in which they had slaine the vnworthie Heliogabalus, they gaue vnto Alexander the ensignes of the empire. When Alexander began to reigne, he was very younge: wherfore, Mesia the and mother, and Manea the mother, did take the charge & governement of the empire: who although in condition they were wome, yet most truly in gouernement they discouered themselves to be men. They elected xiij. persons to assit them in the affaires of the Empire, which were chosen amongst the auncient, the most experte: & amongst the learned, the most wise: & without determination & judgment of all these, they did neither heare what was demanded, either determined any matter that they had to doe. The first deede of Alexander, & his grandmother Mesia, his mother Manea, & his xiij. counsellours, was, to take order for reformation of temples: namely, to repare the decaide, to cleane the defiled, whiche such as were robbed, and to populat such as were disinhabited: because in the dayes of his predecessor Heliogabalus, not only humaine matters went to wracke, but the gods also were profaned. Divine matters being reformed, presently they tooke order for conservation of the common wealth: & before all things, all vicious persons were resolued from their offices: and not satisfied to punish their offences, with deprivation of their offices, he forced them to make restitution of whatsoeuer they had either bribed, or purloyned, & from thenceforth to live of their owne proper sweate. Matters of justice were not handled, but of men very well learned: Martiall affaires were not commended, but vnto men of great experiance: causes

causes of the common wealth were not manured, but of persons skilfull therein: in such wise, that they provided, not offices for men, but men for offices.

Also Alexander reformed the whole condition & estate of his house, as well the ministers, as the expences thereof: whiche all the dayes of Heliogabalus exceeded in disorder, & was no lesse defiled with vice: for which cause he set a seazement of the charges thereof, and elected faithful officers to spend the same: in such wise, that in the house of Alexander, there was neither immoderate expences, either men wanting offices. Although order was taken for the exynarie expences of his house, yet notwithstanding, his household had all things in abundance, convenient vnto his imperial magnificence: and many strangers that came from farre, praised Alexander, because they might not accuse him of prodigalitie, either note him of avarice. The temples, the common wealth, and his house being ordered, the god prince forgat not to reforme his owne person: not only for the maner of consuming of time, but also for his order and maner of his apparel: for that he vsed to say, if the monie which princes spend in robes superfluous, & the time which they consume in apparelling & decking themselves, were spent to the profite of their common wealthes, they should obteine more fauour of the gods, & lesse hatred of men. Alexander was so humble in condition, & publikely he comauaded, none should call him, Lord, either by word or writing: but, the priests should call him, brother: the Se- natours, sonne: men at armes, companion: and common persons, friend: and this he did, for that he held the gods in so great reverence, that he woulde they only should be called Lords. On the superscriptiōs of letters brought him by Embassadours, or sent him from any province, they wrote theron exquisite and stately titles: wherin he provided, no other superscription to be added, but this: Vnto our sonne, our Brother, our Companion or Friend, Aurelius Alexander Romane Emperour. Heliogabalus his predecessor, did commonly weare precious stones on his feete, and most costly

costly jewells of gold and Vnicorne in his apparel: whiche thinges Alexander never vsed, either delighted to weare: for as he was wont to say, princes are not to be knownen of their vassals, by their rich robes, but by their good works performed in their common wealthes. He was apparelled most comonly, in white: in winter, with a certayne kind of blaket of Britaine, and in summer, with a certayne manner of cotton that was bought him from Asia. Some times he would make him garments of cotton & linnen woven together: oftentimes saying, that he much delighted therein, for that it was very cheape to be bought, light to weare, & might best be washed in summer. He would many times walke in Rome with a friend or twaine, holding his hands behind: and finding himselfe wearie, would enter into the first neighbours house, and sit downe vpon a banke of earth, & some times would there fall a sleepe: in such maner, that he had so great familiaritie with all men, as if he had beene one of them. He was mild, pitiful, patient, silent, in all things of great continencie, & was never seene extremely despered, or at any time to vse furious words vpon any person: for which cause, no maner of person did wish him euill for his euill deedes, but of a cancered and corrupt nature where with he was desuled.

## CHAP. III.

¶ How Alexander being inuested with the Empire, presently did visite and reforme his common wealth.

In the second yeare of y Empyre of Alexander, his grandmother the great and renowned matrone Micia died: in whose death he & the Romane people also discouered great sorrow, bestowing vpon her coarse, so honourable a funerall, and such solemne obsequies, as apperteined to one that had beene couzen vnto the Emperour Seuerus, and had for nephues the Emperour Heliogabalus, and Alexander. Micia being dead, the burden of gouernement was layed vpon

vpon Manea, mother vnto Alexander: whome al men conciued to be in full possession of chastitie, temperance, prudence, and patience, but notwithstanding somewhat inclined to auarice: whereof proceeded, these words earely in the morning to be written vpon the gates: if Manea had not charge of monie in the common wealth, such a Romane had never beene borne in Rome. Long time passed in which the Senate had not beene visited: which Alexander forgat not, as wel to visite, as also to reforme: not only by inquisition how they lived and gouerned the common wealth, but also how they ordered their houses & ruled their families: for he vsed oft to say, that the man which knewe not to gouerne his wife, to prouide for his house, and direct his familie, the prince might not comit a greater follie, then to place such a one in the gouernment of the common wealth. In Rome they were named *Milites veterani*, that long time had serued in warres, and were withdrawen vnto their houses: these were mainteyned at the charges of the common wealth, and privileged for apparence before a Judge: and as Alexander was infourmed of their licentious and vicious lives, he commaunded them to be banished Rome, and no more to be mainteyned by the common wealth. When he signed the sentence of their exile, with his owne hands, he added these words: It is as iust that the vicious and wicked, frō a free man, be conuerted to a slave: as the vertuous from a bond man, to be made free: for where there is corruption of manners, liberties haue no place: Most truely these wordes were spoken, as of a prince right worthie generation. Also he visited the officers of the common treasurie, as if we should say, the Auditours and others that had charge of the goods of the kingdome: amongst whome hee found many robbers, and needelesse officers: those hee commaunded to be punished, and these to be disfranchised. Alexander was greatly affectionate vnto the assayres of the common wealth: with which zeale he vsed so great diligence, that the goddes of the common wealth were recovered & gotten againe from the handes of robbers, and spent

spent and employed in matters profitable: for it was his opinion, þ Good princes ought not to consent, that vagabounds should live of the entrails of the people. He wrote unto all provinces, that in all ciuil causes, Judges should procede according to the order and right therof, theues & matters of felonie excepted: who within thre dayes after their apprehension, should either be punished, executed, made slaues for the seruice of men, or condemned to common works for publique profite, and for no cause to let them escape: for as he oft said, Neuer man which had made a proofe in the knowledge of theste, vntill his death, might at any time depart from so foule a vice. He also visited the officers, that had the charge of pay for the men of warre: as against whome he received accusations for payment of euil monie, imbezeling of payes, reckoning the dead with the living, and valuing their viualls more then they were woorthe: whome Alexander commaunded openly to be whipt, and for euermore to be banished. He established by publique edict, that whosoever shoulde aduenture from thenceforth to steale, or imbezill any paintent due for matters of warre, shoulde for the same, lose his life. All thinges which he had to commaunde, or prouide in the common wealth, he did first communicate with such persons as hee thought to haue knowledge and experience thereof: and his manner was to say, that in following his owne proper iudgment, he had neuer but tedious iuicces: but by repaying vnto other mens advise, hee alwayes gathered some fruite.

He held in his house many, and very notable persons, of whome alwayes hee was accompanied: but amongst all whome he best loued, and did most commend his secretes, was Vlpianus: this Vlpianus, besides his great learning, was a man so vertuous, that Alexander woulde oft say hee had rather adventure the committing of some odious deede before the Gods, then speake a foule woorde in presence of Vlpianus.

His predecessor Heliogabalus, had ordyned many lawes

lawes in the fauour of the fiscall, to the greate preindice of the people: for, admitting that goods were augmented: yet on the other parte, the common wealth daily diminiſhed: for which cause Alexander commaunded, that all those lawes shoulde be rewiewed, considered, and resourmed: for, as he vſed to saye, it were more comodious for the Prince which is no tyrant, that his common wealth be riche, and his house poore: then the common wealth to be poore, and his house riche. When he begaine to reigne, the people were abandoned to dissolute manners: for which cause he made some rigorous lawes, and other milde and pittifull: but, when he commaunded them to be proclaimed openly, he gaue aduertisement vnto his ministers, to execute them in secrete. Consider not so much what I commaund you, as the intent wherewith I commaund you, which is to weete, that rigorous lawes are not, but to terrifie: but lawes which are pitifull, to be executed, because we make not lawes, to take away mennes liues, but to roote and weede vices out of our common wealthes.

When the Senatours did sitt in grane assaieres, he was not contented that they shoulde saye their opinions by woorde, but by writing: neither was he yet satisfied that they shoulde set it down in writing, but adde also therunto þ reasons whiche moued them to þ their opinion: saying, he did it to this ende, that none shoulde aduenture to yeld his opinion, either forced with affection, or corrupted with passion: but as reason and vertue shoulde direct him. Naturallly, he was an enimie vnto lyers and lyers: and if any man presumed to lye in his presence, he received therof as great despight, as though he had done him an iurie. He woulde oft saye, that good Princes haue to esteeme such for greater enimies, that deceiue them with flattering and lyes, then such as do intrude vpon their countreis: for the one taketh not but of his gods, but the other robbeth him of his fame. At all times, when they had talk of the election of any Senatour or Judge, he was

alwayes hearde to speake these wordes in the Senate: If, as nowe being present with men, I were in presence of the Gods, I would craue their opinions in the electiō of Senatours and Judges: for that the choice of gouernours in a common wealth, doth more seeme diuine, then humaine election.

## CHAP. IIII.

Of the milde conditions of Alexander,  
and of his grattfull conuictiō  
sation.

Alexander was friendly vnto his seruaunts, whome he would visite indifferently in their sicknesse: that is to wete, as well the meaner, as the moxe fauoured: and in repayment of such his visitation, he woulde request them to give hym aduertisement what was saide of hym in the common wealth: and if they saide vnto him any thinge moxe worthie amendment, then praze, he gaue them as greate thankes for that aduise, as at another time he vped to give for any greate and notable seruice. The Consul Vicoiallon, on a certeine tyme in great secrete, saide vnto Alexander: I am not a little affou nied at thee, (moste serene Prince) that doest permitt thy selfe to bee gouerned of thy graundmother Mesia, thy mother Ma-nea, and thy wife Meania: who haue framed thy condicions so milde, that thereby thou doest impaire the estimation, both of thy person, and also of thine Empire: for that a base and ouertamiliar condition, leadeth vnto contempt.

Unto this Alexander aunswere: I owe reuerence vnto my graundmother, because shée nourished mee: vnto my mother, for that shée bred mee: & vnto my wife good companie, for as much as shé hath married with mee: and since

since it is thus, with reason I ought of no man to be euill iudged, for that I do no more but duetic.

From the daye that he was elected Emperour, vntill he was placed in his Sednichre, there passed no day wher- in he did not some notable deede wothie to be marked, and no lesse to be followed: which is to saye, hearing causes in Justice, visiting tempies, being resident in the Senate, repayring walles, pardoning offences, dooing good vnto the poore, and dispatching such other affaires. Hē was bountifull to Ambassadours and straungers, and no lesse resourmed in his ordinarie expences: aboue the rest, he helde narrowe and straignt reckoning, and was well aduised with the officers of his common treasurie, al- wayes to haue in possession treasure in store. Hē saide manie times, that the poore and needie Prince might neither be serued affectionately of his subiectes, or with armes resist his enimies.

Unto such as were soud, & strong to krawell, and yet wanted money to maintaine a trade, hee commaunded them to be succoured with the goods of the common trea- surie: vpon condition, to repayre the same in processe of time, with the frutes and profites of his trade: by which meane he discharged his Empire, not onely of many poore persons, but also of theenes and vagabondes. All persons that received either wages or lyppende, he had registred in a booke: wherein was written their age, linage, and seruice which they had done hym, vsing when he was a lone, to read in that booke: in such wise, he did so speake, name, and had notice of all persons, as if they had beeне but one man.

The common store house for wheate, and oyle, foun- ded and furnished by Seuerus, Heliogabalus had bothe wasted and destroyed: in such wise, that there remayned nothing in store: this storehouse Alexander reedified, endued, and also prouised with exceeding greate aboun- dance of wheate and oyle: so that in his dayes, wheate and oyle did flowe and abound as water.

The Jewes that were in Italie, of all men were euill handeled, and the Christians no lesse persecuted and banished: nowe, when bothe the one and the other made complaint, Alexander commaunded them to live within their lawes vpon such condition, as they perfourmed their ceremonies in secrete. He did much honour the Presidents of prouinces, and when he traueiled vpon the way, they only were placed with him in his Coche or litter: which he did, to the ende that all men might beholde howe much he honoured the ministers of Justice, as also to be insoumed of the state of the common wealth of that countrie: for that naturally, he was so greate a friend, in that which touched the common wealth, that he did not onely take pleasure to prouide and talke thereof, but also held it for a vice, to be forgetfull of the same. Hе vded vnto no kinde of people so great liberalitie, as vnto Judges, Tribunes, and Pretors, which had charge, and were sincere in ministering Justice: and aduouched vnto the Senate, that a Prince with reason ought not to bee intituled a Prince, vntesse he were carefull for the execution of Justice: and if he finde any that is iust in the administration thereof, such a one iustly may not be recompenced: for which cause, I give them more then any other persons which serue me, that by their enrichment, all occasions to make other men poore, from them may be remoued. In the behalfe of the common wealth he was aduertised, that beeſe and bacon was exceeding deere in Rome: in respect whereof he ſtraiely charged and commaunded, that no person ſhould aduenture to kill either calfe or ſuckinge pig, by the ſpace of two yeres: whercof it came to paffe, within the ſpace aforesaid, that a pounde of flesh, which was ſolde for eight, was worth but twaine. Of men he ſeemed graue, prudent, and sincere, he woulde alwayes be insoumed & receive aduise, for prouision of all graue and doubtfull caſes, and yet woulde neuer committake or commendre his truſt to any ſpeciall persons: for he vded to ſay, that when the people do underſtand, that the prince

is

is counſelled or directed by any one person, ſuch a one, with giftes and requestes may eafily be corrupted.

Alexander had a ſeruaunt named Belon, who promiſed a gentleman to diſpatch a certeine matter of great importance with Alexander, that touched him not a little, giving to vnderſtande, that he was verie priuate with the Prince: and in remuneration of his promiſed trauell, hee received of that gentleman a greate ſumme of money: whereof Alexander being aduertised, and that which hee promiſed to obteine, to be a matter moſt vniuſt, & no ſmal offence vnto the common wealth, he commaunded him to be cruciſed: affirming, that none ſhould dare to aduenture to ſell the fauour of the Prince, to the prejudice of the common people. He woulde many times aſſemblie the chiefeſt of the people, and warne them to be vertuous, noble minded, and pitiful vnto the common ſorte: aduertisſing them, that assuredly he woulde deale with the vertuous, as with ſonnes, and with the wicked, as with eni mies.

Thre times hee gaue vnto the Romane people, greate quantities of wheate, in time of greate dearth. Also, at other times he gaue, of his grace, vnto the auncient hoſlemen, greate ſummes of money: vnderſtandinge the greateſt parte of them to be in debt. There were in Rome many perſones that lined not; but by vſurie, by which meane much gods were loſt, and many hoſes become tributarie: wherein Alexander commaunded exceeding diligence to be vſed in the reuiewe of ſuch contracts, and a memoriall of the moſte notable grieſes to be giuen him: which when he had conſidered, he puniſhed the vſurers, and gaue libertie vnto the poore men that were oppreſſed.

The manner of his diſpatche in affaires, was, to be paient in hearing, mylde in awſering, ſkilfull in concreting, and pitiful in denying: in ſuch wiſe, that if he gaue not that which they demanded, at the leaſt he gaue them comfort with his wordes. After he came from the Senate

Senate, and had dispatched the affaires of suters, he did alwayes passe the time in reading Greeke rather then Latine: amongell all other thinges which he vslid to reade, was Plato his comon wealth, Cicero his offices, Horace, and Quintus Curtius, with the life of Alexander: whom (his vices excepted) he diligently did imitate. If he sawe any of his officers, that for age, or impotencie, might not serue: he did either call him or visite him, giving him many thankes for the service which he had done him: and would request him to take it in god parte, to receiue his whole stipend, with ease and rest in his owne house: and to place some other in that office, mete for his seruice. Usually he did eate twise a daye, and in his feeding more cleanly and curios, then costly and sumptuous: and neuer was offended with his officers, for the lacke of many, or exquisite meates: but for want of cleanlinessse, and god seasoning.

Many persons wandering in Rome, and vagrant throughout all Italie, yde as castawayes, who dispaing to learne some occupation after they were so charged by commandement: hee gaue licence unto all men, without further authozitic, to take them for ther slaues: which if they renounced, then frely to kill them. He did permitt none of his seruauntes to weare any silke, clothe of golde, or siluer: for that he oft vslid to saye, that open excelle of apparel, and secrete vice, were the destruction of Courtiers. Also he often aduouched, the condition of a good Prince was, more to be recreated with hearing wise men talke, then in tasting delicate meates. Alexander had in his house a certeine person named Veturius Turinus, whome he loued: against him going and comming to his chamber, no doore was shutt: this fellowe was both guplefull and lying, and made all men, that were suters unto Alexander, belue that he had more conference with him, then with any person of the Empire.

The case was thus, that Alexander being aduertised of his vanitie and lewdnesse, and howe he deceiued, and was

was bribed of many, caused a foster to request Turinus to dispatche a certeine suite with Alexander: who coming and going daily into the Princes chamber, alwayes aduertised the suter: thus, and so I haue saide in thy mat- ter, and thus and so was I aunswerved of Alexander: the god Prince had true intelligence what Turinus v- sed to saye, and of the bribes which he had received: wher- upon presently he prouided that Turinus was taken, and in his presence by witnessse conuinced of the guyle and de- ceite which he had committed, of his huge promises al- so, and howe muche he had robbed; whiche inquisition ex- actly made, he commaunded him to be fired aloft vpon a stake openly in Rome, and vnder him was set greene woode and wette strawe, which being set on fire, did yelde vnto his nose a molte cruel smoke, which was not so little, but that in shorte space it delinered the miserable caytife of his life: a cryer with a loude voice makinge proclamation, *Fumo punitur qui fumum vendidit*: which is to saye: He that solde smoke, is smoldered in smoke. In all famous cities, he caused stowehouses to be made, one- ly seruing for safe keepeing of the goddes and riches of such neighbours as doubted robbing.

He made in Rome newe principall strætes, wherein he buylt stately and delightsome houses, which he gaue in rewarde vnto his friendes and seruauntes that were wise and vertuous.

Garmentes of pure silke he was never knowen, ei- ther to buy or weare: and if by chaunce any were giv- en or presented vnto him, he bestowed them vpon the priests of the Temples, to be apparelled when they shoulde offer sacrifices. He was neither envious, or couetous of other mennes goods: and in this case he vslid to saye, that the couetous Prince doth finishe and conclude in ty- rannie.

Naturally he had compassion of the poore, but molte chiefly of the needie shamefasse man: that is to saye, that in former times had been in honour, & afterwards fell into

into extreme pouertie: for he vsed to saye: there is no kind of mishappes so vnfornunate, as for a man to call to remembrance that in times past he had beene fortunate. All that he did take and confiscate of malefactours, he communed to be giuen vnto shamefalle poore men: with an inquisition before hande, howe he fell into such pouertie: whether by vicious aduersitie, or by some other casualtie: for he helde opinion, that to make him riche, which by vice was made poore, were a cruell deede.

## CHAP. V.

¶ Of his zeale of iustice and other commendable  
actes, as well touching his person,  
as his common  
wealth.

All the dayes of his Empire, he enterteined but one Physician, vnto whom, or any other, he did not at any time yelde his pulse, either of any Physician tooke counsell: and to him would oft saye in iest, thinke not that I give thee to eate, to cure mee: but to the ende thou shalt not cure mee. He neither delighted in Physicke, or that Physicians should remaine in Rome: and for defence of his opinion he vsed to saye, that as greate infirmities doe not happen but by great excesse: so it argueth that the Prince which is compassed with Physicians, goeth charged with many vices. Presidents of prouinces, when he sent them to be resident in their circuities, he did not onely instruct what they ought to doe, but also prouided them for all necessities: and at their returne, if they had done well, he relieved their necessities with his great liberalitie: but if they had done evill, he distressed them both of goods and fame. Pretors, Censors, and prædictores that had charge of iustice, if they had no wifes, he compelled to take concubines into their houses, to the ende they

should

should not folloe other mennes wifes: for he helde opinion, that it were not agreeable vnto Justice, or according vnto the honour of Rome, that the Judges for adulterie, should be accused of adulterie. Vnto CHRIST he would haue made a temple in Rome, and placed him in the number of their Gods, which also was said of the Emperour Adrian: but the priestes of the temples disuaded him, saying: that they had receiuied answer of the oracle that if he shold persourne that acte, all other temples shold perishe, and all persons would convert themselves and become Christians. Alexander in Festes, was gracious: in fables, inuentive: in banquets, a companion: in gathering of golde, skilfull: in conseruing, advised: in searching of mines, diligent: in giving, liberal: and in speculation of newe deuices, exceeding carefull. In earnest or in iest, in worde or in writing, he would not be calld, but Romane: for which purpose, he made sondry diligent searches of his genealgie, wherby he gane demonstration of his descent from the Fabios Metelloes, which were noble and auncient Romanes. Hee brought vnto Rome great learned men, to reade all Sciences: to which effect he erected many colledges and studies, and indued them with greate rents, where the sonnes onely of poore men were received and taught. Gouvernours of Prouinces he punished moste grievously, for their offence in iustice: especially, if they were noted, or rather accused, of bzyverie: but if by malice they were wrongfully accused, the accuser received the chaffisement of the accused. This god Prince was pittifull vnto all offendours, except theues, and false witnessses: against whome he vsed extreme iustice: and respecting the offence to redound, not so much vnto him selfe, as vnto others, he affirmed: that h Prince ought not to giue them pardon. Hee had alwayes in his chamber a booke wherein were written all notable seruices which had beene done vnto him: he also entered into the same, all greate rewardes that he had giuen: and if any man happened to do him some notable service, and

craved no recompence in consideration thereof: he woulde call him and saye these, or such like wordes: What is the matter that thou demaundest nothing of mee? perhaunce thou wouldest haue mee thy debitor for thy seruice, since thou seekest not the recompence of thy trauell. Seemeth it well vnto the, that thou shouldest obteine the faine of a faithfull seruaunt, and by thy meane I shoulde purchase the renoune of an ingrate prince? Howe shall others receiue courage to serue mee, when they see thee vurecompenced for seruice past? knowest thou not, that if it bee iuste, that seruants for treason committed, be put to death: is it not also most iuste, that Princes for their ingratitude be abhorred: presupposing that thou wouldest serue mee, without respect to profitte thy selfe, of my magnificencie: wherein I give the to vnderstante, I finde my selfe more offendred then serued: for at all times when they shall praise thee for that which thou hast done for mee, they shall despise mee, not onely for ingratitude, but rather for ha- fred which I shall seeme to beare vnto thee. And if thou ceasest to craue, in thinking mee to be in necessitie, and not able to accomplish with all persons, moste vaine is thy iudgement: for that the Prince, having no other meane to paye, is so muche bound to recompence seruice, that he hath to redeme it, euен from his ordinarie diet. Conformable vnto thine estate, demaunde what thou wilt: for since thou beeing a seruaunt, hadst a minde to serue: it is iuste, that I beeing a Prince, shoulde haue rewardes to give thee.

These, and such other wordes Alexander vsed to say, vnto such as were mindfull to serue him: and forgetfull to craue of him. Those that serued him, and others that craved of him, he did never recompence with the reward of any office of iustice: but such as had serued him, he recompenced their seruice, with houses, Jewels, inheritances, or money.

For any importunitie which they shoulde vse with him, any seruice which they shoulde do him, any Jewels which they

they shoulde present him, or any fauour which they had of him, he gave not at any time, vnto any person, any office for guernement of iustice: if he had not seene abilitie in his person, and merite in his life. Every seuentene dayes, he payed his men of warre: and when they departed out of Italie, to conquere any countrey, he did ease them with beastes wheron to ride, and succoured them with money to spende, for maintenance of their horsees of seruice in courage, and their persons from wearinesse. When he trauelled vpon the way, he payde for the lodgynge of all his traine, & did beare the charges of all sickle persons.

Certeine Christians, and certeine tauerners came besoze him to plead for a parcell of ground, where the Christians would haue erected an house of prayer, there to worship Christ their God: and on the other syde, the tauerners alledged their great necessitie of that situation, for tauernes for the people: in which matter Alexander gaue this sentence. Diuine things ought alwayes to haue pre ferment before humaine matters: wherefore, I saye and commaunde, that the Christians make their house for Christe their God: for, admitting their God is vnto vs vnkownen, yet his honour is to be preferred before the profitte of tauerners.

## CHAP. VI.

¶ Howe warre was offered in Asia vnto Alexander, and what was saide vnto his Ambassadours,

In the eleuenth yere after the beginning of the Empire of Alexander, soudeinly he received letters from Asia,

V. h. s.

Wherins

wherein he was giuen to vnderstande by his Romane officers, that there were resident, how Artaxerxes king of the Persians had subdued, and also slaine Arthabanus king of the Parthians: and not contented with that victorie, beganne also to occupie and possesse Assyria and Mesopotamia, prouinces subiect vnto Rome. Upon which newes, Alexander seemed to receiue some trouble of minde, partly to hane warres in Asia, which alwayes was vnto the Romanes both daungerous and costely; and partly, for that in tenne yeares past, he had seene no enemie against him in armour: as also, for that the successe of warres consisteth not in leading greate armes, but in the honourable prouision of the destinies.

Alexander, from his infancie, had beeне bredd in peace, had geverned the Empire in peace, and naturally also was inclined vnto peace: in respect whereof, it was no marueile though he were annoyed with warres: for that the trouble and disquietnesse which warre bringeth with it, is more conuenient vnto cruell and vnquiet persons, then for men of reposed mindes.

He commaunded his priuate seruauntes deputed for his counsel, to ioyne with the Senate, ioyntly to reade the letters that were written to him out of Asia, and to determine howe they shoulde be aunswere: for, as negligence is hurtfull in all graue affaires, so in the warres it slayeth. The letters being read, although they were therein of sundry iudgements, yet in the ende they resuemed, that before they made Artaxerxes warre, they shuld request with peace: for, admitting that at that present he destroyed the Romane territories, yet were it not agreeable vnto the greatnessse and sinceritie of Rome, to take warre in hande, before that such warre were very well iustified. With greate bryuitie Alexander dispatched Ambassadours into Asia, and by them did write vnto Artaxerxes king of the Persians a letter, after this manner.

Alexander

Emperour, to Axtaxerxes king of Persians, health & peace, in the pacified Gods.

Wee salute thee with health, because we wiste it thee; and we salute thee with peace, for that wee bee louers thercof: and thou haft not to holde it in small estimation, that I salute thee in peace, and wiste thee health: for vnto Princes that possesse not health, life is tedious: and they which haue not peace, it were leſſe euil to be dead. It may chaunce, that the warre which a man hath against his owne proper sensualitie sufficeth not, but that he must iuuent warre against some straunge countrie. A man that may not subdue his heart, which within his own body is imprisoned, thinketh he to conquere the whole world that is placed in so great libertie? If in time of peace wee may not liue in quietnesse: what shal wee do when wee awake new enimies against vs? The Prince that may not persuade him selfe to conforme his wil and mind to the iudgement of one onely person, doth he think to consteine all persons to be appliant to his onely iudgement? Great trauell hath the poore man, that wanteth all things: but much more hath the Prince y is contented with nothing. Herewe vnderstand, that y hast aduentured thy person, spent thy treasure, imployed thy friends, & destroyed many people, to be lord of the Parthians: & we fully beleue, that nowe thou art no more satisfied, then when thou wert only king of Persia: for, contentation consisteth not in conquering strange kingdoms: but in taming & moderating our own proper desires. Neither the Parthians

Hh. iii.

there

there in Asia, neither the Romanes here in Europa, haue committed any deede, wherfore thou shouldest murther the, or manace vs: but it may come to passe, that they shal reuenge their iniurie, and we destroye thy potencie: because for the more parte, there never groweth any daunger towardes vs, by our enimies which haue vs in hatred: but from our friends whom we haue offended. The Romanes and Parthians at al times haue beene thy good friendes, and thou hast attempted an enterprise to offend them: but I sweare vnto thee by the immortall Gods, that if thou doest not restore them that which thou hast taken, and to vs, that which wee possesse: in such manner, we Romanes wil make thee warre, that from commaunding as a king of Asia, thou shalt come to serue as a vassal seruaunt in Rome. There wee sende thee our Ambassadours, which shall declare vnto thee our will, heare them and beleue them: and if thou wilt not giue faith vnto the woordes which they shall speake, thou shalt hereafter giue credit vnto the armies which wee will sende. No more, but that our Gods be with thee, and thine alwayes with mee.

The Romane Ambassadeurs which passed into Asia with this letter, afterwardes reported, that when king Artaxerxes had perused the same twice or thrice, he spake in this manner.

*Certeine woordes vttered by Artaxerxes vppon the receipt of Alexander his Ambassage.*

I haue

I haue read this letter of your Prince, more then once or twice: and as appeareth by the style thereof, he hath spent more time in the Achademies, studying: then in the fieldes, fighting: because warrelike Princes haue high thoughtes, and reasons very short: but in armes verie doughtie.

I accept your Ambassage, and explicate your credite, since the meaning of your Prince is, that I shall leaue what I haue taken from the Parthians, and not occupie my selfe in possessing that which apperteineth vnto the Romanes: vnto this aunsweringe, I saye: that the lawe which hath ordeined, this is thine, and this is mine, proceeded from base mindes and humble heartes, that wanted hardinesse to enterprise greate thinges: immagining to defende by bookes, that which they durst not winne with armes. The lawes made by poore Philosophers ought not to prejudice the greatenesse of Princes: because the Goddes haue determined, that all thinges shall bee proper, except kingdomes, which amongst Princes should be common: the right whereof consisteth not in such as doe inherite them, but in them which may winne them.

The heroycall Princes, and high mindes, are not to bee satissified with the patrimonies of their predecessours: muche lesse apperteineth it vnto their greatenesse, to demaund by lawe, that which their enimies haue taken from them: but for preseruation of their inheritaunce to spende their treasure, and for conquering and subduing kingdomes, euery houre to aduenture their liues.

And since it is thus, that there is no king so vertuous,

H h.iiii.

ous; but enuieth another's kingdome: I am determined to conserue that which I haue taken from the Parthians, and to take what I may from the Romanes: and if fortune shalbee frowarde in this my iourney, at the least all men shall prayse the greatness of my minde.

These and such other wordes Artaxerxes vsed with the Romane Ambassadours, which (as they afterwards reported in Rome) did not so much maruell at that which he saide, as of the minde wherewith he did manifest the same: for he seemed not to talke with the young, but to fight with his handes. Nowe, when the Ambassadours were dispatched and departed from the courte, he called them againe and said: Sayc vnto Alexander your prince, that I meane not to aunswere vnto his philosophicall letter: but in place of writing, I assigne him the field for paper, the lance for the penne, bloud for ynke, & wondres for wordes. The Ambassadours being returned vnto Rome, and reporting all that had happened with Artaxerxes, the Senate were not a little touched therwith, and all the people conceiued no small indignation, ioyntly swearing to breaue the pride of Artaxerxes, & to revenge the wordes that he had spoken against Rome. This prince Artaxerxes was much loued and liked of his people, and no lesse feared of straungers: and a thing moske to be noted in him, was, that if in taking from others he had the shewe of a tyrant, after he possessed the same, he did gouerne as a right and iust Prince. Many Romanes requested Alexander, to assemble Soothsayers, and Magicians, to declare the successe of that warre: whiche he woulde not in any wise accomplitsh, either might well indure the hearing thereof, affirming: that if as the Magicians & Soothsayers, by their art, haue knowlege to vnderstand things to come, so they had power to remedie the mischief which they should find, it were not vniust to cons-

cōferre with them, & also to serue them: but since I am certaine that I may not escape what my destinies wil cast vpō mee, I will rather sticke vnto that which the Gods shall determine, then vnto that which the Magicians shall report and imagine.

## CHAP. VII.

¶ Of a discrete speach vsed by Alexander vnto his men of warre.

Alexander vnderstanding the proud answeare that Artaxerxes had giuen vnto his Embassadours, determined against him to denounce warre: vnto whiche end hee sent his mandats to all prouinces, cities, subiects, and confederats with the Romane Empire, to succour them with monie, and assist them with their most warlike people. ¶ Letteth yeres were past, in whiche the Empire enioyed most perfecte peace and tranquillitie: and vpon the tidings of thise new warres into Asia, they were not a little amazed and scandalized: partly for exacting newe tributes, and partly for demaunding their husbands and sonnes for the warres. With gratafull minds and readie disposition, the imperialists accepted the Emperour Alexander in his requests, and were no lesse readie to yeld their monie, their sonnes, and persons to be imployed in his seruice: because they were fully persuaded, that neither by his fault, that warre was raised: either by his want of merite, to finde therein any misfortune. During the time that monie was collecting, and the men of warre assembling, he commauded all the Capitaines, Centurions, and the most principal of all his garrisons and armes, to come before him: who being placed in the field, and hee himselfe aduanced aloft, hee spake to them after this maner.

Hb. v. Alexander

The life of the  
Alexander his Oration, to his Cap-  
taines and armie, assembled in  
the field,

Brethren, companions, and my friends, I beseeche the immortall Gods, to giue vnto my tongue sweete eloquence, touching that which I haue to say: and to place in your hartes congruent attention, concerning that which you haue to heare: because, grace to persuade in him that speaketh, and permission to be persuaded in him that heareth, are gifts that many craue, but vtrie few obteine. The inclination wherwith we are ledd, is so proud, and the malice of man so wilie, y<sup>e</sup> there is none which esteemeth himselfe so simple, but thinketh to know that which another vnderstandeth: and therefore, for one man to haue skill to persuade many, is a gift that the gods onely do giue. With the seuerite of Demosthenes, the prudence of Pythagoras, the wisedome of Plato, and the eloquence of Ciceron, many may hardly persuade one person: & doth one man thinke to persuade many? That which I haue presently to say vnto you, is not to the ende that y<sup>e</sup> shal do what I wil, but to vnderstand what it is that you will: because, in great and graue affaires, one hath to propound, but many to determine. But comming to the purpose: you haue knowen & seene, that these xi. yeares we haue gouerned the Romane Empire: in which space we haue trauelled to conserue all men in iustice, & shunned all occasions that might hinder our peace: wherin we haue cause to gifte thanks vnto the Gods, since we haue deserued to enioy in oure time, y<sup>e</sup> which our predecessours never obtained. Although a

prince

Emperour Alexander. 459

prince in his condition be a Saturnine, and in his life not well aduised, in conuersation vnbriddled, in kee-  
ping couetous, and proud in his owne estimation: yet all is to bee suffered and dissiruled, if hee hold peace with strangers, and without acceptation of persons, doe equall iustice vnto his subiectes. It is knownen vnto you all, that Artaxerxes king of Persians, hath de-  
stroyed the Parthians, and dealt foulely with all oure confederats & friendes, and yet remayneth in so great power in Asia, y<sup>e</sup> there is not against him one launce in the Reste: but your heroycall deedes and noble mindes being considered, wee thinke not that ye ei-  
ther meruaile, or haue any doubt thereof: for that ad-  
miration proceedeth of small wisedome, and feare  
of cowardnesse. Heroycall persons, that amongst o-  
thers would be notified, receive with equal mindes aduersitie and prosperitie: for vnto such men, though the ioy of prosperitie, and the smarte of aduersitie bee  
vincertaine, yet is their glorie vnuariable. Leauing the  
Gods, and speaking of the affaires of men, nothing  
may iustly bee termed great, but that which bringeth  
with it great inconuenience: and then one is of more  
valure then all, when one doeth that whiche all leaue vndone: for, greatnesse consisteth not in posses-  
sing proud desires: but in perfourming deedes of no-  
blenesse.

From Rome wee haue sent oure Embassadours  
vnto Artaxerxes, to persuade him to leaue those pro-  
vinces whiche hee hath taken, and to abstaine from  
them which hee ment to take: which hee not onely  
refuseth to doe, but hardly might endure the hearing  
therof: for which cause, it apperteineth vnto the great-  
nesse of Rome, to employ it selfe to the breaking  
of his

of his pride: for that it proceeded not of lesse vertue to humble the proud, then to aduaunte the humble. Many of you which be here, haue beene bred, and also present at the glorious acts of Antoninus Pius, and Seuerus my progenitours, noble men of immortall renowne: and notwithstanding that by the antiquite of your yecares, and the trauels which ye haue passed in the warres, ye may not fight, yet at the least ye shal profite vs by your aduise and counsell: whiche in the warres is verie necessarie, and no lesse profitable: for that in such assembly, one counsell is oft giuen, that exceedeth the seruice of a thousand horsemen. Perfectly wee ought to hope, that wee Romanes shal bee conquerours, and the Barbarians ouerthrown: not onely for that they first raised this warre, but also because we haue requested them with peace: wherein y<sup>e</sup> Gods are so iust, that very sildome they permit them to enioy the victorie, who were the occasion to raise that warre. And doubt ye neuer the more, for that our armour is old & rustie: because the felicitie of warre, consisteth not in bright armour, but in doughtie harts and noble mindes. Many which march on land in bright armour, be ouercome: and all men that go by sea, weare rustie armour, and doe conquere: in such wise, that warre is not mainteyned with armour of yron, but with heartes of steele. And be not escadalized with consideration that ye haue to fight vnder the stādard of a young prince, which wanteth experiance in the warres: but as of the rest, so of this ye shal haue no cause to doubt: for that I go determined, intending in the acte of fighting, to fight as one of you: & in matters of counsell, to yeeld my selfe vnto the counsel of the auncient.

For a-

For any want of victuals, neither haue ye to suspecte: for that we are prouided alreadie in the chanel of Byzantio, with wheate of Sicyl, wines of Cādie, bacon of Campania, oyle of Spaine, salt of Capua, pouldred beefe of Cerdonia, and oates and beanes of Normandie. For other pleasaunt and delectable things, I neither comand to search, either would I (if they were found) suffer them to be transported: because in the warres, they may hardly subdue their enimies, that are ouercome with vices. Scipio the African, when he went to besiege the renoumed Numantia, founde thirtie thousand Romanes (which xiii. yecares had beene at the siege thereof) enuironed with two hundred thousand vices: who (like a fylfull Capitaine) banished both vice & vicious persōs out of his campe: this being accomplished, presently the enimies were ouercome. In this iourny so tedious, perilous, chargeable & costly, I would not that ye should do more then ye shall see me doe: because in trauell ypon the way, sayling on the sea, defending passages, executing on y<sup>e</sup> enimies, and in the vsage of my person, ye shall finde mee an affable companion, and no niggardly prince.

These, and such other woordes Alexander vsed vnto his armie: which being heard, with lowde voyces they did all wish the Gods to preserue his life, and said with one assent, that they were readie to go and die in that warre in his seruice. This speach being ended, he diuided amongst his armies much monie, according to the custome of the Romanie Emperours: which was not giuen in part of payment of their wages, but to animate them, that with the better wil they might indure the trauels of warre.

CHAP.

## The life of the

## CHAP. VIII.

¶ Howe the Romanes were ouercome of  
the Persians.

¶ After that Alexander had discoursed w<sup>th</sup> his Captaines  
and prouided all thinges necessarie for his iourney, he  
commaunded open warre to be proclaimed against Asia, &  
a day appointed for his departing: before which time, he  
made great sacrifices in the temples, and bowes unto the  
Gods: because the god Romane princes v<sup>sed</sup> for custome,  
first to pacifie the yre of the Gods, before they take armes  
against their enimies. On the day in which he issued out  
of Rome, all the Senate and people did accompanie him 3.  
miles: & further also (a thing much to be noted) there was  
none which beheld him departing, but bitterly fell a wee-  
ping: for that being (as he was) a prince so pitiful, of all mē  
he was cordially and hartily beloved. From the tyme þ he  
departed from Rome, he stayed not, vntil he arriued at the  
cittie Alexandria: to which place he had commaunded all þ  
garrisons of Illyria to repaire, þ there being assembled, the  
ignorant might exercise seates of armes: & further, to pro-  
vide things necessarie for þ warres. Alexander being ar-  
riued at Alexandria, it seemed vnto him, & to his graue Ro-  
mane counsellors, to send another Embassage to Artaxer-  
xes, king of the Persians, once more to invite him to peace:  
which if he refused, then against him to sound defiance.

Artaxerxes being aduertised of Alexander his passage  
into Asia, & the coming of his Embassadors into his king-  
dom, did neither manifest any feare of the Romane power,  
either was any thing altered with this newe Embassage,  
making the Legates none other answere, but that shortly  
he would send a newe embassage. Within 6. dayes after,  
Artaxerxes sent an embassage of 400. horsemen to Alex-  
ander, of the most noble, valiant, and gallantest gentlemen  
of his armes: and the end wherfore he sent so many and so  
braue, was, to terrifie the Romanes with the magnificencie  
of þ Persians. The Embassage of those 400. persons, were  
comprised in fewe wordes, and after this maner were they  
written.

The

*The Embassage of Artaxerxes, the  
Persian king, to Alexander the renoun-  
med Emperour.*

463

The great king Artaxerxes, Lord of the Persians,  
commaundeth thee Alexander, king of the Romanes,  
to depart out of Asia, and cease to enter possession of  
Assyria: care not to enter into Ionia, Caria, either to  
haue to doe with Pontus, the sea Aegeum, either to  
passe any countrie or prouince which cōfineth or bor-  
dereth vpon Europa: for otherwise, in not accōplishing  
these thinges, it shal be necessarie þ thou be chastised.

Alexander considering this proud Embassage, cōmaun-  
ded al the 400. Embassadors to be taken, & rewarding o-  
thers with all the apparell which they did weare, and the  
iewels which they had, he sent them banished into Phry-  
gia, there to till the lands, & plow w<sup>th</sup> oxen. Some gaue A-  
lexander counsel, not to banish but to hang them: to whom  
he answered: he that saith in his Embassage no more then  
he is commaunded, & fighteth for defence of his countrie, vn-  
justly they take away his life. Alexander possessing an ar-  
mie of great power, forgot not to diuide the same into three  
parts, þ is to say, sending the one by the way of Armenia, þ  
other along the borders of Tygris & Euphrates, & the third  
part he ledd with himselfe to enter into the countries and  
fields of his enimies: to the end, that the Persians beholding  
themselves assailed on every side, should yeld and scope to  
the seruice of the Romanes. In those dayes, þ Persians had  
not skil orderly to give a battel, but þ ioyntly they fought  
in heapes, & so either they did subdue, or were subdued: and  
that which is more to be meruailed, as well women went  
to the warres as men: neither did the prince giue wages  
vnto the one or the other, more then every one was able to  
get, rob, and spoile in the same. Although the Persians were  
not readie in keeping of aray, yet on the other parte, they  
were much accustomed vnto armes, and from their youth  
addicte to runne horse, and shole arrowes.

Alex.

considering that the Persians had slaine their parentes, & that their wiues and children were now destroyed by the Germanes. Exceeding was the sorrow which young Alexander's heart, considering with what haste he was called unto the warres of Germanie: chiefly, for advertisement of the necessarie of his personal presence in the same warrs: for otherwise, the Romaines would not repaire: and such as came discomfited from Asia, would all depart. The greatest griefe that did cruciate and torment his heart, was, to thinke that at þ hour in which the fame of his unfortunat fight should be diuulgat, and noysed through the Empire, and the Germanes newly revolted, his enimies in Rome would attempt some commotion in the common wealth: for that it is naturall vnto the common people, to desire daily chaunge of newe Lords. The Emperour Alexander determined in his owne person to be in the warrs of Germanie: and on the other part, did wryte to the Senate amorous letters, sending vnto Rome, to be offered in the temples, great sacrifices: and shippes loaden with wheate and oyle, to be diuided amongst the people: and ioyntly with this, he secreteley prouided to furnishe the frontiers with men and victuals: in such wise, that this god prince, in his owne person would goe to the warres against his enimies: and with his gods would winne the heartes of his subiects. With no small diligence, Alexander traueil'd from Asia to Germanie: and immedately vpon his arraial at Rhene, he made bridges of boates, whereon his armes might frely passe, and also fight with his enimies.

Alexander tourneying towards Germanie, enterteyned certaine people called Maures, which liued in the fieldes Ossroanos, bordering vpon Thracia: who fought with long lances, hauing a head of yzon at the ende, with such dexteritie and readinesse on horseback, that in riding they would take vp their lances falne vnto the ground: and also wound their enimies as well in flight, as assault. Many of these Maures were meruallous readie archers at the crossebowe: and as naturally the Germanes are high of bodie,

and

and slow and laden with flesh, and the Maures on the other part, very skilful in shooting, and of like life in skirmishing: so they behaued themselves no more nor no lesse with the Germanes, then an archer with a white at a Butt, that is to say, without all danger to strike the same all to pieces. Although the Romaines were few, yet in their martial affayres they had prosperous beginning, and no lesse hope of god successe: but þ Germanes, admitting they were many, yet sought they with great misfortune: because the Romaines were men of experiance, but the Germanes chiefly practised manuring the fields. Notwithstanding the Germanes did repent them of their warlike attempts, and Alexander not misliking his personall iourney: yet the god prince forsgat not to request them, and also pray them with peace: for which purpose, he sent vnto them wise Embassadours, that on his behalfe shold say vnto them very god words, and offer large rewards, with a general pardon of all iniuries: this did he, not for feare, but yet with some doubt of fortunes variablenesse, which in warlike attempts discouereth her dealing with most uncertaintie. The Germanes most times beginno their warres with choler, and prosecute the same with furie: but in the end, they endure to be persuaded by requests, & to be ouercome with monie. During the time that the Embassadours practised peace, they established a truce betwixt both armes, whereat the Romane hostes were amazed, and no lesse scandalized: for that as then being flesched vpon the Germanes, they would reuenge all iniuries, and also rob them of their gods.

In Alexander's armie there was a Capteine named Maximius, borne in Thracia, in lineage obscure, in conditi-  
on barbarous, of inclination vicious, in office a mansleyar,  
and a robber on highe wayes: who, for his valiauntnesse in  
warrelike affayres, came by all the degrées of cheualrie to  
haue þ charge of men of warre. And to consider a meruallous  
matter of this Maximius, which is to say: þ as Na-  
ture was his aduersarie in depriving him of vertues natu-  
ral, so was Fortune his fauourer in all variable chancess:

I. 4.

because,

because, then fortune sheweth her greatness, when such as  
 be of small value, are aduanced to the possession of migh-  
 tic things. The Roimanes considering howe Alexander  
 practised peace with the Germanes, and that the truce co-  
 tinuing, he gaue himselfe vnto pleasure and vice, all spoyle  
 and robbing of enimies being remoued, agreed amongst  
 themselves to create Maximius Emperour, & to murther  
 their lord and Emperour Alexander. The case was thus,  
 that Maximius being in the fields, teaching certayne yonge  
 men to play at weapons, the confederate traytors came  
 vnto him, and taking Maximius amongst them, apparel-  
 led him with the robe and ensigne of the Empire: who be-  
 ing ignorant of their intent, and supposing it to be done in  
 feare, vsed some resistance. But, when Maximius percei-  
 ved his promotion to be no matter of feare, he determined to  
 kill the true Emperour in earnest: wherof Alexander (all  
 carelesse in his tente) being aduertised, began to chaunge  
 countenance as one soze abashed, and his mother also to  
 fall a weeping. The generous and valiant gentlemen that  
 Alexander had with hym, hee did request and persuade to  
 resist the traitour Maximius, and as god vassals & frends,  
 in this case to live and die with him: which they all pro-  
 mised, but afterwards obserued not.

The next day early in the morning, it was said vnto A-  
 lexander, that Maximius came accompanied with all the  
 armie: whereupon Alexander demaunding armour to  
 issue forth to fight, there was not one man found that would  
 follow: for y all his men of warre were returned to Maxi-  
 mius, and the most of his seruantes that night were fled.  
 When Maximius came within the bieue of the imperiall  
 tent, where Alexander remayned, he stode still, and com-  
 maunded certaine Capitaines to goe to Alexander, not to  
 take, but to kill hym: & that by no meanes they shoulde give  
 hym space or place to do any deed, or stay to heare any of his  
 wordes: for that many times delayes in like cases bring to  
 passe, that hee that shoulde haue died, doth kill hym that  
 shoulde haue liued.

When

When Maximius his Captaines came vnto Alexanders  
 tente, he was blaming his mother, saying, that by her aua-  
 rice and couetousnes hee lost both life and honour: but his  
 complaintes, and her lamentations extended to sinall pur-  
 pose: for that ioynlytly they slue the sonne, and mangled the  
 mother all to peces. Herodianus (in his Romane histo-  
 ries) sayth, that this chaunce and death happened vnto A-  
 lexander: but other Historiographers, no lesse graue and  
 true, although they say that hee died in Germanie, yet say  
 not that he was subdued in Asia: mozeouer, the occasion  
 of his death they report after another maner: because He-  
 rodianus knewe not otherwise to excuse the treason com-  
 mitted by Maximius, but to say, for that Alexander had  
 haue overcome, he was odious vnto all the armie.

## CHAP. X.

¶ Of a solemne Oration made by Alexan-  
 der vnto his men of warre,

When Alexander departed from Rome to goe into the  
 warres of Asia, hee had great regard vnto his men of  
 warre, as well for their safetie, as also for robbing such  
 countries as they were to passe: for, as naturall is it for  
 men of warre to rob their neighbours, as to kill enimies.  
 When hee did eate, he had alwayes his tente open: to the  
 end all men of his hoste shoulde both sée and knowe, that the  
 meate which he did eate, had more taste of the sharpnesse  
 of the warres, then of the delicatenesse of Rome. Nightly  
 hee did visite the circuite of his camp: and at all times  
 would give them false alarms, to yeld them aptnesse vnto  
 armour, and readinesse to repaire vnto their ensignes.  
 If any person did wander from his standard, either to rob,  
 or but so much as to walke, the qualitie of the person con-  
 sidered, hee received punishment more or lesse.

If any were a brabter with his hoste, feward with his

I. ii.

comes

companions, disobedient vnto his officers,ooke any thing by violence, or was soule mouthed, hee would say these woords vnto him: wouldest thou, that as thou doest, they should doe, or as thou layest, they should say vnto thee? Knowest thou not the prouerbe of the Christians, *Quod tibi non vis, alteri ne feceris*, that is, what thou wilt not to thy selfe, do not to another. Alexander said that he heard this prouerbe spoken, and he wist not whether of the Jewes or Christians: whiche in his heart tooke such deepe impressi- on, that he did not onely speake and repeate, but also many times wrote the same vnto his gouernours: and further, caused them to be drawen vppon his ensignes, and grauen vpon all his workes. Alexander being resident in the territories of Antioche, was informed that a certaine Capitaine had abused an auncient woman, both in word and deede: and both being called into his presence, and the master heard, he commaunded the Capitaine to be deprived of his roome and office, and of the liberties which hee had received in Rome: and further, that hee should be slauie vnto the old woman: furthermore, hee commaunded that in Carpentars craft he should perfourme his service, & main- taine his old dame. Hee vscd so great severitie and hard- nesse with his men of warre, that many times hee dispat- ched them by whole bandes: for that he might not endure their civil dissentions: or robberies, and scandals amon- gest neighbours.

All Romane princes had feare of their armes, except Alexander, and the cause why (as he said) hee feared them not, was: for that he payed them very well, and remoued all occasion of reprehension from his owne person and life: for in the ende, none hath true libertie to chastice, but the man that is of a sincere life. The armie remayning in Antioche, he was aduertised that they gaue themselves vnto women, haunted hoate houses, and spente and lost much time in vaine playes and idlenesse: whereupon hee commaunded all the Capitaines, Tribunes, and Centurions, to be taken, and with yrons to be cast into prison, vpon which

which cause there gresw amongst them, no small scandal: in so much that openly they durst say vnto Alexander, if on that present day hee did not let them loose, the nexte day following they woulde depart vnto the enimies. Alexander being aduertised what his men of warre had said, & what they ment to do, commaunded them all to appeare before his presence, both such as were in bonds, as those that were at libertie: saying vnto them these woords,

*Alexander his Oration, made to  
his men of warre, at his comman-  
dement before him summoned  
and assembled.*

Brothers, friends, and my companions, that which now I haue to say vnto you, is more for y loue whiche I beare you, then feare which I haue of you: be- cause, princes that haue feare to execute iustice, either it is for that they are vniust: or because their subiectes should dissemble their owne proper vices. Howe would ye that I should suffer you, being (as ye are) no- ble Romaines: whom cruell tyrauntes would not endure as their subiectes? There is none so euil, al- though hee endeuour not to be vertuous, that of the good holdeth not good opinion: wherof followeth, that it is much more euill for the common wealthe, the prince being vertuous, to suffer persons vicious: then him that is vicious, to permit no vice in his com- mon wealth.

The prince that consenteth vnto vices, and dissem- bleth with vicious persons, is not to be named a piti- full father, but a peruersle and a cruell tyraunte:

for that, notwithstanding at the present hee doeth not chastice them, yet in processe the one shall destroy the other. One vicious, with another that is vicious, may neuer long continue in friendship: for presently vpon the decay of vice, at the instant their friendship faileth. Being (as I am) your prince according to iustice, and your brother in loue, how would ye that I should suffer you to rauish women, play your wages away at dice, spoile orchardes, with other such like vile & heynous deeds? Admitting that now I would passe and dissemble the same, yet doubtlesse, your selues before others would blame & condemne y<sup>e</sup> same: because this tribute the good haue ouer the euill, that if they bee greeued with the chastisement giuen vnto the euill, in the end they shall some day praise him y<sup>e</sup> did iustice. Vnderstand ye not that ye are gentlemen of Rome: and that on the day in which any man taketh the name of a Romane, hee bindeth himselfe to bee vertuous? Because this name of Romanes, was not so much magnified of our predecessours, by killing enimies in Asia, as by weeding vices out of oure common wealthes.

Wee call the Persians, Barbarians, because they haue taken that which was ours: and doubt ye that of Romanes, they shall not intitle vs tyrantes, that haue spoyled others? I am named Alexander, and would imitate Alexander the great: of whome, and of his father king Philip it is said, that when they brought foorth their armies to fighte, they seemed more a Senate in the common wealth, then men of warre. If they had done what ye nowe haue done, neuer might those princes haue obtained so great victories of their enimies, either writers so largely to haue registered their

their noble and glorious deeds, either might I haue praysed them with so good wordes: whereof foloweth, that the chiefest effecte to ouerthrowe enimies, is, to holde armies verie well disciplined. Princes vse to lose manie victories, not for want of iustified war, but because their men of warre are wicked: and admittinge that some times euill men do conquer, yet in the end they shal be vanquished, or else of the gods cruelly chasticed. Let them be certeinc, that are either present or absent, if anie one will be euill, either let him returne vnto his house, or else we shal chas-ten him if he remaine vnder our standard: because it is not iuste that wee, comminge to recouer that whiche is vsurped from the common wealth, by bearinge with your woorkes, shoulde defame our mother Rome. If we suffer so manie trauels, aduenture our selues in so manie perills, and consume our treasures, it is not for wante of oylc, wheate, wine, plate, or golde, but to magnifie the renowme of the Romaine Empire: and since it is so, howe is it possible for the Gods to permitt, that by the handes of infamous persons, we should obteine honour or renoune. Numa Pompilius, Quintus Cincinnatus, Marcus Marcellus, Paulus Emilius, Quintus Fabius, Cneus Fabricius, and Scipio Africanus brought to passe, with the Gods that the Romaine empire was accepted, and that through the worlde the name of Rome was reuered: we read not in histories that these glorious and noble men, in their persons were tyrants, and muche lesse woulde consente their armies to be vicious. Beleeue me, friends and companions, Princes that will mainteine the fame of good Princes, and not recouer the reproche of tyrantes, ought to haue

as greate care to preserue their armes from vice, as to auoyde the treason of enimies: for that men do incurre greater daunger by secrete vices, then by open enimies. That whiche ye haue done, is either good or euill: and if robbing of fieldes, raysinge of mutinies, and forceing of women, be good: then by this accompt, to honour temples, defende orphans, sacrifice vnto the Gods, and to vse iustice with all people, is wicked: since the lawes whiche condemne the one, allowe the other: whiche of all you is neither to be beleued, either so muche as once to be thought: for, notwithstandinge of euill we can say but euil: yet is it muche worse to defende, then do it. If these insolencies whiche I haue rehearsed, and you haue committed, ye holde for euill: why conceiue ye not the chaſtisemente given for the same, to be good? If vertue and rewarde be couſines, who wil denie that the trespass & y punishment are brethren? He that ordyned the conquerour to triumph, hath he not appointed the theefe to be hanged? Will ye be paide before hande, for seruice vperfoumed? and will ye neither pay or restore that whiche ye haue purloyned?

Notwithstanding Princes haue greate libertie in the comon wealth, yet are they not exempted or free frō iustice: and will men of warre only be priuileged? The wordes whiche ye haue vttered, and the threateninges which ye haue thundered, neither do I take them as iniuries, or yeald my ſelf to anie grievous agonie: for in killinge me, ye ſhall kill but one: yet in the ende, there ſhall not wante in the Empire, one to ſucceede mee, and alſo to chaſtice you.

That whiche I preſently requeſte and commaund you

you, is, to amende that whiche is past, preſently to imbrace quietneſſe, and to be aduised in time to come: whiche if ye refuse, I ſhall be forced to vſe rigour, because I am not to ſupporte mine Empire, by relieuing vicious ſouldiours, but in maintenance of all men by iuſtice.

These and ſuch wordes beeing ſaide, they became al milde and pacified: and further, all armour beeing laide a parte, in token of obedience: and their headeſ caste downe, in ſigne of ſorrowe: euerie man departed vnto his charge. Hereby, the greate authortie of Alexander in his commaundementes is to bee gathered: and the force whiche he had in his perſuadinge ſpeache, to be pondered. The bande and capteineſhip which he diſmifſed, after xxx. dayes he diſ bothe pardon and admittē them: becauſe hee ſawē in them greate repentaunce, for that whiche was past, and readie mindes to ſerue him in time to come: and ſo it came to paſſe, that afterwardes in battell they proued men moſt notable, and ſuch in daede, as to whome greateſt glorie was giuen.

## CHAP. XI.

¶ Of the victorie that Alexander obteined a-  
gainſt the Persians, and of his  
triumph, as ſome wri-  
ters do report.

When Alexander departed from Rome, because of the warres in Asia, a great part of Summer was paſt: for which cauſe, it was neceſſarie for him to winter in Anti-  
oche: admitting y delay increaſeth cost, yet was it profit-  
able for perſonage of his warlike attempts: for that

in mene time, he resouined his armes, prouided victuals, repayzed high wayes, recovered manie daungerous pas- sages, and also remoued from his enimie manie confe- derates. When summer began, Alexander marched with his armie: after whose entrance into the lande of Persia, he perfourmed al exploites accustomed in such a iourney: which is to wete, brake bridges, ouerthrew fortes, burned houses, sacked townes, spoyled fieldes, kil- led men, and did captiuate women: whereof we haue not so meruell, for that notwithstandinge warre be iustified, and all thinges iuste therein demanded, yet alwayes the deedes thereof be moste vniuste. Certeine dayes bee- ing past, wherin were traversed diuers daungerous skirt- mishes, and no lesse perilous encounters, by the consente of Alexander and Artaxerxes, they committed both their fortes vnto the merite of a battell: the Persians being ouerthrown, and the Romaines remaining conquerours; wherein, if Artaxerxes had staide his hardinelle, and commended the matter vnto policie, placeing his pow- er in his fortes and moste stronge places: if he had suffe- red the Romaines by tracte of time to consume thselues, according to the custome of greate armes, in straunge countries: he might haue preserued, both his countre and honour. Great riches were recovered in that battell, and infinite the captiues whiche then were taken: and as the Persians holde it for a moste greate iniurie to serue any straunge nation, so Artaxerxes, notwithstandinge hee was poore and overcome, gathered together greate summes of money, and redemeed all captiues: in suche wise, that in Persia there remained no money, either a- nie captiues came vnto Rome.

Alexander recovered in those warres, the renoume of valiant, magnanime, and not coueteus: and he was iustly intituled valiant, for his doughtinesse in figh- ting: magnanime, for his magnificente liberalitie: and not coueteus, for the small share that he reserved vnto him selfe.

The

The affaires of Persia being dispatched, Alexander re- turned vnto Rome, entering the same with greate tri- umph, and glorie: for that consernable vnto the people and nation which they had subdued, was the riches that was brought vnto the treasorie. And after being mount- ed vpon the Capitol, he saide vnto the Senate, after this manner.

*A shorte Oration made to  
the Senate.*

Fathers Conscript, for that I come tyred with so long a iourney, and you no lesse wearied in receiuing mee, it were no reason to make long speache, muche lesse to inuent newe eloquence: because there is no- thing so eloquently spoken, but if it bee saide out of time or place, seemeth tedious vnto the audience. He that shall speake, or persuade others, hath not on- ly to consider what he saith, but also to obserue time, and respect the assemblie: for the Sea at one time, doth permitt her selfe to be spurned: and at another time not to bee touched. By that which ye haue hearde, as that which this day ye haue scene, ye may vnderstand howe daungerous this warre hath bee[n], and howe copious a victorie we haue obtained: for as ye vnderstand (Fathers conscript) there is no great haruest, without great tillage.

The case is thus, that the Persians had in their fa- vor four score thousand footemen, sixe thousand horssemen, seuen hundred Elephants, two thou- sand yron cartes, and two thousand slaues that were young men: the one halfe to beare victuals, and the other halfe to mend high wayes.

On

On that day in which both the one & the other came foorth into the fieldes to fight, no man woulde haue thought, but y the whole world had bene come together, and also the dead risen out of their graues. Of foote men we slewe twentie thousande, and did captiuate twentie thousande, of whiche then two thousande were killed, and three thousande did yealde, of Elephantes we bringe three hundred, and three hundred we haue slaine: the cartes, the slaues, and prisoners, they haue redeemed by the weight of money, in such wise, that we haue taken their countries, ouercome their persons, and brought away their goods. I returne safe & sound, y armie enriched, king Artaxerxes defeated, the name of Rome magnified, and the confederates satisfied: and with all these trauels though we come wearied, yet are we not fatigued: because victorie is so sweete a thing, that it leadeth all trauell past into obliuion.

Alexander hauing saide these wordes, the Senate exclaime with loude voices.

The immortall Gods saue thee Alexander, the Gods make thy fame immortall, since this day thou haste honoured Rome with euerlastinge fame. Thou hast ouercome the Persians, visited the Parthians, subdued kinges, intiched the armies, and placed vs in great honour: for which cause, not vnworthily, we intitle thee *Pater Patrie* father of our countrie, Tribune of the people, most highe Bishoppe, first Consul, & only Emperour of the worlde.

These & such other exclamations manifested by the Senate, at the issue of the Capitol gate, Alexander saide vnto all persons that there did attend him.

Fathers, sonnes, brothers, and companions vnto

to the fathers of the Senate, we haue giuen accoupt of all that we haue done, and will giue you a reason, as apperteineth, of al that we haue saide. For this day, the triumph pastre sufficeth: to morrowe, we wil visite the temples: the nexte daye, we will offer greate sacrifices: the fourth day, wee will giue libertie vnto prisoners: the fifte day, we will diuide rewardes amonst the poore widowes, and orphans: the sixte day, we wil begin y Persike & Circen playes: for considering the greatnessse of our victorie, we wil first accomplitshew with the Gods, by whom we haue obteined the same: and then with men which gaue vs their assistance.

When Alexander came from the Capitol, hee mounted on horse backe to ride vnto his palace: whome, at that instante, certeine auncient gentlemen of Rome did take & beare vpon their shoulders, the people gathered together exclaminge with loude voyses, in this manner.

Blessed is Mamea thy mother, blessed art thou Alexander her sonne, blessed is Rome y bred thee, blessed is y armie that elected thee, and blessed is y Senate y did consecrate thee: for in thee is conteyned y felicitie of Octavius, & the bountie of Traiane. Thou hast lead with thee into the warres, our husbands, our sonnes, and our friendes, whome thou bringest backe with thee all sounde, all rich, and likewise all contented: wherfore, we say vnto thee, that if this day we place thee vpon our shoulders, for euer more we will lay vp thy memorie in our entrayles.

In these exclamations the people continued, before and behinde, for the space of somer houres, extremely pestering all passage, vntill the chariote triumphant, with fourre Elephantes, made the wayes open: All y which he saide vnto y people, he commandued presently to be accomplished.

At the ende of these feastes, he did institute a temple of Virgines, who were named *Maneas*, in reuerence of his mother *Manea*. At the same time he received newes, that at Tanger a citie of Africa, *Furius Celsus* had obtainede victorie, and *Iunius Palinatus* likewise in Armenia, triumped over the enimies, as also *Varius Macrinus* in Illyria had made a conquest of certeine countries: and the curriers which brought y newes, presented him also with thre tables of Lawrell. The feastes and triumphes being finished, he woulde be informed of the officers of the common wealth, that is to say: how in his absence they had vsed the people, and howe they had administered justice: and suche as had not done well, he remoued: and those that had done well, he rewarded: giuinge vnto some more honourable offices, and to others heritages and money. Manie times Alexander woulde say, that they deserved as greate glorie that in time of warre did well gouerne the common wealth, as they whiche in the warres obtainede victorie.

## CHAP. XII.

Of thinges whiche he did in Rome, and howe the tyrant *Maximus* did kill him in Britaine.

After that Alexander had subdrey and triumped ouer the Persians, certeine dayes he was detayned in the gouernement and resourcement of the common wealth: because the longe absence of princes breedeth wante of justice amongst the multitudine. Of all the riches that he brought from the warres of Asia, he did take for him selfe, but one horse, one chariot, two Elephantes, one sworde, one cuppe of Jus, and a paire of pointes, which belonged vnto kynge *Artaxerxes*: as he said, The pray of princes, ought to be imployed on princes. The

de.

defence of the most daungerous frontiers, he commended not but vnto men y had great wealth in the same: which if he had not, he gaue it them in such wise, that to conserue his fidelite which he did owe, & to saue his goods which he possessed, he shoulde be forced to defende his countrey, or dye in the enterprise.

There was in Rome in those dayes a Mathematician, named *Thrasibus*, of wh<sup>o</sup> Alexander demanded what death he shoulde dye: who answered: thou shalt dye in a straunge countrey, not in thine olde age, but by y sworde of a Barbarian: whereat Alexander was nothing altered, but rather with exceeding ioy imbracing *Thrasibus* said:

*A certeine speach of Alexander against the terror of death.*

If the Gods did graunt vnto other princes to liue perpetually, and comauand mee onely to dye, I confess I shoulde dolefully feele the deede of death: but our life being(as it is) so shorte, and death so necessarie: I had rather dye in the field by the handes of mine enimies, then in my chamber compassed with Physicians. Vnto the greatnessse of Princes it appertaineth, not onely to lead a good life, but also elect an honourable death: and to this ende I say vnto thee *Thrasibus*, that all y felicitie of a Prince consisteth in well gouerning the common wealth, and also to imploye his life for the same. What faine, or glorie, what ease or quietnesse, doth followe the life of that Prince which dieth in his olde yeres, and sickly: in which age, for the most parte, olde men be euil serued of their subiectes, and contayned of straungers: He that conceiueth it to bee good for the priest to dye in the temple, conceiueth no lesse of the Prince that dyeth in the field: for that the office of the one is to praye, & of the other to fight.

Kk.i. I haue

I haue scene many dye here in Rome , after the manner which the common people do thinke the best kinde of death : that is to saye , laden with yeares, laide in their beddes, accompanied with sonnes , honoured of parents , compassed with sonnes in lawe, visitid of Physicians , and serued of nephues : at whose death, I beare no enuie : since I knewe of them, that before their bodies were tastid of woormes, their hearts were vnbowelled with grieve & thought.

Thrasibulus, thou doest well knowe , that Alexander , Darius , Hector , Pompeyus , Gayus , Tullius , Seneca , and Demosthenes , were men in their persons verie glorious , in doctrines verie wise , and in their deedes no lesse heroycall : and yet all these with many others dyed, not accōpanied with their friends, but by the handes of their enimies: neither were they blemished with so vntimely a death, since of them nothing was lesse esteemed : but rather by their cruell deathis, they aduaunced their fames . No other thing is diuers in death , but onely the manner of the same, sithence death in the ende is alwayes but one thinge: for we shoulde not be afflicted with the manner of our death : but what thinges we shoulde repaire, to the amēdement of our life. Admitting that these cōsiderations, apperteine more vnto Philosophers , then vnto the simple : yet I saye both to thee and other , that as it was not in our handes to be borne, so shal not the manner of our death consist in our selues: but y houre being arriued , there and then shall every man finde for him selfe , what fortune hath prouided.

All these thinges Alexander saide vnto Thrasibulus in secrete , and after wards openly in the hearing of all men. Not manie dayes after these thinges passed , Alexander departed vnto the warres of Germanie , which were not prosecuted in Germanie , but in Gallia transalpina: for because the French men were subiect vnto the Romans, the Germanes did inuade them. Alexander beeing in the greatest heate of these warres, certeine mutinous souldours and olde seruantes of Heliogabalus , did create a capteine , named Maximius , Emperour : because the Emperour Alexander woulde not consente , but utterly detested their horrible and vicious actes . Alexander remaining in the lesser Britaine in a place named Cilicia, Maximius & his trayterous adherentes determined to kill him their Lorde and Emperour , before it might be manifested throught the armies: for y notwithstanding diuers of them did doubt his seueritie , yet on the other parte all persons did loue his iustice.

Alexander reposinge at after noone , y traytors agred with a iester to murther him in his tente : who beeing entred, fel into such dismay, that he not only gaue ouer his determined attempt vnpersuained , but also fledde with no small doubt and feare affrighted . But beeing afterwardes retyred vnto Maximius and his companions, perswaded them presently to kill Alexander , beeing at that time on his bedde solitarie and vncocompanied, for that other wise he woulde discouer their whole intente: which he saide, because it was A lawe Martiall, that anie which shoulde aduenture to enter the tente of the prince without licence, shoulde pay no lesse then the losse of his life. Maximius and his complices consideringe what the iester had saide , presently determinid to murther their Lorde and Emperour Alexander : and so ioyntly and furiously entringe his tente , slew both him , his mother , and all persons that made resistance, or overthwarted them

with anie displeasaunt speache. Alexander died one the twelth of June, after thirtene yeres & nine dayes of his Empire were expired: he liued twentie & nine yeres, thre moneths, and seven dayes: and was a Prince in Rome moste loued in his life, and most bewayled at his death. The enimies of Alexander did note him, that he despised in him selfe to be natuine in Assyria, that he loued gold, inten-  
ted newe tributes, was seuer with souldiours, did what he could to resemble Alexander Magnus, and that he was somewhate suspicous. But the thing wherefore Alexander was most blamed, and iustly deserued to bee noted, was, that being a man, and of greate experiance in the go-  
vernemant of the Empire, he continued subiect vnto his mother, as when he was a childe: and in this case it was sufficient, that he had reuerenced and honoured her as a mother: and on the other parte to haue considered, that her counsell in the ende, was but of a woman. Alexander was so vniuersally beloued of all nations of the Empire, that it chaunced at his death, which never was read to haue chaunced at the death of any Prince of the worlde, that is to saye: that they were all slaine which brought the newes of his death: neither the commaundements of commissions of his successor, woulde they obey: aduou-  
ching it to bee blasphemie in the place of so vertuous a Prince, to yelde obedience vnto a traytore so detestable.

*FINIS.*

*Errours escaped.*

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Chap. x.  
Other.  
Macea, and

so it must be read, wheresoever it is found.

A generall Table, conteyning

the titles or arguments of euery

Chapter throughout the booke  
of this whole booke.

(. .)

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*FINIS.*

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Newberric, dwelling in Fleetestreate  
a little abone the Conduite.  
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